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HUMAN EVENTS

YOUR WEEKLY WASHINGTON REPORT

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NEWSPAPER

We Can't Fight Both Castro and U.S.!

CRIES YOUNG CUBAN EXILE

SEE PAGE 123

MIGUEL LASA

Republican National Chairman William Miller with Senator and Mrs. Barry Goldwater, at $1,000-a-plate dinner honoring the Arizona Senator.

Goldwater Band Wagon Rolls

See page 116. Also see Tulsa Tribune Editorial: "Come Out Fighting, Barry".

SEE PAGE 115

NOT THE LAW OF THE LAND

By Samuel Pettengill,
Democratic Congressman from Indiana 1931-39

SEE PAGE 118

"No!" Say 18 Big City Dailies To Federal Aid For Their Mass Transit Problems.

SEE PAGE 120

ATTEND THE SIXTH HUMAN EVENTS POLITICAL ACTION CONFERENCE. SEE PAGE 128 FOR FURTHER INFORMATION.

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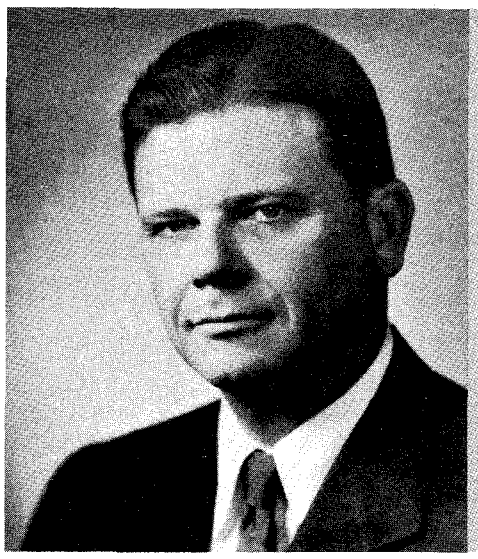

SEN. THRUSTON MORTON
He has pointed out the fuzziness of Kennedy's 1959-1960 views on Castro.

Kennedy's Hindsight on Castro

By TED LEWIS

President Kennedy can be sympathized with for expressing the wish that Ike had disposed of Fidel Castro back in 1958-59, but his off-the-cuff remark to that effect at his weekly press conference was a real political boo-boo which Republicans have now pounced on with "vigah."

Kennedy certainly did inherit the Cuban problem from Ike, but he should know he can't rewrite history in hindsight nor strike from the written record the fact that as senator in 1959 and even in the spring of 1960 his Castro views were at least as confounding and fuzzy, if not more so, than Ike's.

This has been properly called to public attention recently by Sen. Thruston Morton (R.-Ky.) in a Senate speech aimed at setting the record straight. Morton first referred to the President's recent remark that "I think it is unfortunate that he (Castro) was permitted to assume control in the 1950s and perhaps it would have been easier to take an action then than it is now."

Morton said he considered Kennedy's complaint that Ike had failed to act at the most advantageous time had "distinct political overtones." And he pointed out that on May 14, 1960, Kennedy, in a television appearance, said he then supported the Eisenhower policy toward Cuba as "the right one for the time being."

Morton's researchers did only a fairly effective job in raking up the President's past views about Cuba. The senator could have really wowed the Senate had his researchers obtained key excerpts from a speech Sen. Kennedy made in Lincoln, Neb., on Oct. 13, 1959.

In the light of the President's present criticism of Ike for not bouncing Fidel before he became a menace, what Kennedy told his Nebraska audience back in 1959 provides a fascinating comparison. This paragraph in particular:

"Whether Castro would have taken a more rational course after his victory had the U.S. government not backed the dictator Batista so long and so uncritically and had it given the fiery young rebel a warmer welcome in his hour of triumph especially on his trip to this country, we cannot be sure."

The Kennedy of October 1959, thus thought that if the Eisenhower administration had given Fidel a "warmer welcome" on his propaganda-dispensing trip here the previous April, he might not have played open footsie with Moscow.

'The Great Liberator'

In that speech Kennedy even likened Castro to Simon Bolivar, the great Liberator of South America. Fidel, he added, "is also part of the frustration of their [the Cubans'] earlier revolution which won its war against Spain but left largely untouched the indigenous feudal order."

This was a really flamboyant estimate of Fidel, but Kennedy had an equally idealistic one of the Castro revolution itself. As he then put it, "the wild, angry, passionate course of the revolution in Cuba demonstrates that the shores of the American hemisphere and the Caribbean Islands are not immune to the ideas and forces causing similar storms in other continents."

Castro, the Cuban Bolivar! Yes, the man said it.

Fidel's April 1959 trip to this country, as members of the American Society of Newspaper Editors would like to forget, was arranged by the society early in 1959, when Castro was somewhat of a hero to the globaloney liberals. But by April, enough of the veneer had worn off so that while the ASNE was caught with him, he got a cool reception.

Castro had come to power the first of the year. But by April he had mercilessly executed 500 Cubans and was flirting openly with Moscow. He had also harangued Havana mobs with diatribes at the "filthy gringos" of this country. But despite his excesses he got formal—if not friendly—red carpet treatment.

He saw Vice President Nixon and acting Secretary of State Christian Herter. To Ike's credit, he couldn't take the Cuban scoundrel and saw to it that he was well out of handshake distance—on a "work-and-play" vacation at the Augusta, Ga., golf course.

When Castro went back to Cuba, he pushed his "agrarian reform" program on the Communist model and began the sweeping nationalization of banks and industry.

And yet in October of that same year the junior senator from Massachusetts was making the Bolivar comparison, which makes it hard to believe that today, as President, he dares to criticize the Eisenhower administration because "he [Castro] was permitted to assume control" at the beginning.

Consistency is certainly not a jewel, and it could well have been that the Kennedy speech in October 1959, was the flowery brain-child of his chief speech writer, Ted Sorensen, who went to school in Lincoln, Neb. But Kennedy spoke the words at a time when the Eisenhower administration had definitely written Castro off as a loss and a serious menace, while Kennedy still clung to the Cuban Bolivar estimate. Even Kennedy's criticism at that time of the U.S. government's backing of former dictator Batista "so long and so uncritically" has a peculiar ring.

For an old family friend, Earl E. T. Smith, was Ike's ambassador to Cuba during the dying days of the Batista regime. Smith's dislike of Castro was intense, yet after Kennedy became President he nominated him as ambassador to Switzerland, and then was forced to withdraw the appointment because of criticism of Smith's activities in Cuba.

We bring this past record up only because what Kennedy, or any other President, says should in fairness be put into honest perspective.

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Flag Week

Rep. H. Allen Smith (R.-Calif.), with a 100 per cent ACA rating, has introduced a resolution in Congress proposing an annual proclamation of July 1 through July 7 to be called "National Flag Week." Gilbert Durand, California manufacturer, is chairman of the Committee for a National Flag Week (6445 Fleet Street, Los Angeles 22, Calif.). More than 150,000 petitions are being circulated.

HUMAN EVENTS
YOUR WEEKLY WASHINGTON REPORT

Founded in 1944 by Frank C. Hanighen

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CONTENTS

Kennedy's Hindsight on Castro
By Ted Lewis 114
Come Out Fighting, Barry!
From the Tulsa Tribune 115
Political Realities of Rocky's Marriage
By Frank Conniff 115
This Week in Washington 116
Not the Supreme Law of the Land
By The Hon. Samuel B. Pettengill 118
From Our Readers 119
Nation's Dailies Say 'No' to Mass Transit 120
The Battle for the Dictionary
By Morrie Ryskind 122
McNamara a Republican?
By Victor Lasky 122
Broken Presidential Promises
By Henry J. Taylor 122
JFK: 'Managing Editor'
By Walter Winchell 122
How Long Must We Wait?
By M. R. Lefkoe 123
Learning the Hard Way
From the San Diego Union 124
How to Save $700 Million
From the Chattanooga News-Free Press 124
College Campus—No Place for Reds
From the San Franciso News Call Bulletin 124
Musicians' Demand in Philadelphia
From the Philadelphia Bulletin 124
Rorschach Cult in Art
From the Montgomery Advertiser 124
Showcase of Lawlessness
From the St. Louis Globe-Democrat 124
Wanted: More Surveillance of Government
By Emerson P. Schmidt 125
"Don't Do As I Do . . ."
By Paul Harvey 125
Spotlight on Congress 126
The Triumph of Ludwig Erhard
By John Chamberlain 127
Chester Bowles: Equivocal Man
By Holmes Alexander 128
ARA Boondoggles
By Rep. Leslie C. Arends (R.-Ill.) 128

Let Your Editor Know

Newspaper editors are glad to know the preferences of their readers. Your recommendations and those of your friends may cause your editor to choose a conservative columnist rather than a liberal the next time he makes a change. The syndicated columnists whose writings appear in this week's issue are:

Holmes Alexander, John Chamberlain, Walter Winchell, Paul Harvey, Ted Lewis, Morrie Ryskind, Victor Lasky, Henry J. Taylor.

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CAPITOL CAMERA

• *In his speech in Washington last week, Gov. George Romney, while giving forth on various domestic issues, said nothing whatsoever about foreign policy and defense. It is remarked that if Romney really were seeking to cut a figure as a prospective presidential candidate he would not have entirely omitted mention of these two top matters.*

• The Administration's refusal to re-appoint Adm. George Anderson as chief of naval operations, plus its limiting of Gen. Curtis LeMay's new term as Air Force chief of staff to only one year (both unprecedented actions), may be punishment for more than the two chiefs' opposition to the TFX plane. It was reported during last fall's Cuban crisis that both the admiral and the general threatened to resign unless JFK moved to oust the Russian military buildup in Cuba—an attitude not considered friendly by the President.

ANDERSON

• *Harold Wilson, leftist head of the British Labor party, recently in Washington for a visit with President Kennedy, is now reportedly telling left-wing groups in England that Prime Minister Harold Macmillan is trying to keep JFK from making a deal with the Communists over East Berlin and East Germany. Wilson, who hopes to be Britain's next prime minister, says that if Labor wins the next election he can strike such a deal with the Reds.*

• Reports multiply that the White House does not want New York City Mayor Robert Wagner to run for the Senate next year against Republican incumbent Kenneth Keating, and intends to get behind Rep. Samuel Stratton, Democrat from upstate. One reason for this White House attitude suggested by the pros is that Stratton is a Protestant, thus would provide "religious balance" to a ticket headed by Catholic JFK.

WAGNER

• *Many on Capitol Hill raise one pointed question about Sen. J. William Fulbright's conduct of his investigation of foreign agents' lobbying practices: Why does not the senator probe the activities of those organizations which are listed by the Department of Justice as "Communist controlled"?*

• "Childe Harold" Stassen popped up and off last week, promising to enter the New Hampshire GOP presidential primary in '64 with a "world government" plank. The capital scoffs at Stassen's return from obscurity, recalling his thumping defeat in '60 when he ran for mayor of Philadelphia (now his hometown). Noting Stassen made his "nuisance play" last week in Syracuse, N. Y., pros say he did not dare to make it in Philadelphia, where he has said nothing publicly for two years.

STASSEN

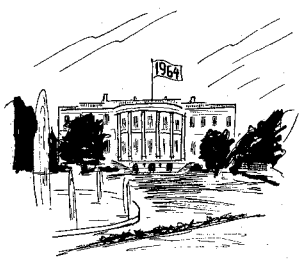
• *"Another Edsel flop" is the way senators are talking of Secretary of Defense Robert S. McNamara's controversial TFX plane. Sen. Barry Goldwater, in his tough interrogation of McNamara in committee recently, made some cutting references to the Edsel failure, which took place while McNamara was a high executive with the Ford Motor Co. Goldwater's jabs drew blood, and the secretary of defense attempted to defend his record while at Ford.*

This Week in Washington

Goldwater Band Wagon Rolls

An historic rite took place on May 9 in Washington—the sound, color and trappings of which set the capital buzzing all last week.

The ceremony constituted a virtual confirmation of Barry Goldwater's leadership in the Republican party and was recognized as such by a local press too long reluctant to notice either his work from coast to coast or his stature on the national level. On the morrow of the affair, a national news magazine ran a cover story on him, a distinction highly prized in the political world. The article appeared in *Newsweek*, the owner of which is the strongly anti-Goldwater Washington *Post*. The story, however, was friendly towards the senator and pleased many of his well-wishers.



The occasion of the ceremony was a testimonial dinner, organized by GOP leaders, to pay tribute to the senator's effective work for the party. The turnout exceeded all expectations; GOP governors, members of Congress, party pros and VIPs from all over the land attended. At $1,000 a plate, the affair grossed $400,000 (net, after all costs, $386,000), which sum ensures intensive campaigning for Republican senators and representatives next year.

While the 400 G's was a triumph, those pros present remarked it was but a small fraction of the cascade of cash that has been poured into GOP causes for several years as a result of the Arizonan's appeals. The Washington *Evening Star* expressed the opinion that "Sen. Goldwater must have attracted more money at fund-raising dinners than any non-president in history."

The non-partisan and usually cautious *Star* went on: "Without ever declaring his candidacy, he [Goldwater] can count on having enough delegates pledged to him next year to exert a major influence on the platform and nominee selection." Many of the pros went further privately, saying that since Rockefeller's remarriage has removed him from a serious place in the race, Goldwater should be able to garner enough votes at the convention to win.

Typical of the ebullience of the Goldwater boosters was the prediction in the Chicago Tribune that the Draft-Goldwater movement will announce that "about 400 Republican delegates will support the senator in May 1964 (655 is sufficient to nominate)." That would be a record and would foreshadow nomination.

The talk of the pros at the dinner revealed significant trends: (1) Calculations were made that although Goldwater in running against Kennedy next year would lose the three big-electoral-vote states (New York, California and Pennsylvania) he would sweep the South, the border and mountain states and the Midwest to win.

(2) Assertions by Pennsylvania pros raised the possibility of great Goldwater strength—hitherto unsuspected—in that state. For one thing, it was noted that Sen. Hugh Scott (Pa.)—a strong "Modern" Republican—remarked he wasn't sure Goldwater could be stopped in the Keystone State, although he thought he would be. More telling was news of a shift to Goldwater by two high Pennsylvania GOP leaders during the past fortnight. Both men—who had been strongly anti-Goldwater in the last two years—now hasten to assure friends and followers they are getting behind the Arizonan. Pennsylvania observers say recent events (the Rocky remarriage, etc.) have inspired these politicians to jump on the Goldwater band wagon.

(3) Also illustrative of the pace of the band wagon is the fact that an animated discussion has arisen in the GOP over the effect of "favorite son" candidates in various states which are bidding for attention, if not the nomination. Rep. John Byrnes of Wisconsin has been designated as favorite son by his state committee; Gov. John Love of Colorado reportedly is backing Sen. Gordon Allott for this honor. Others may follow. Some Goldwater partisans, while conceding that the honor usually amounts to little and is merely a token, fear it would, in some states, discourage pros from lining up for the Arizonan. This, it is said, would handicap a nomination on the first ballot. Others, however, speculate that such favorite son delegations as that for the conservative Byrnes would be easy picking in a move to support Goldwater on the second or later ballots.

However that may be, it is significant of the advance of the band wagon that such a discussion should arise now. Pros in general say that actually it is not early, that the time is ripe for lining up convention delegates—those men who will hold the power of bestowing the nomination. It remains to be seen whether the Draft-Goldwater group will soon undertake this vital task.

Ike and Barry

Contrary to current stories in the press of a coolness between Ike and Barry Goldwater was a warm public exchange between the two at the GOP Senate dinner, May 9. Ike wired "my personal thanks to Senator Goldwater for his effective service as chairman of the Senatorial Election Committee." And the Arizona Senator, in thanking all the notables present at the dinner, went out of his way to mention Ike (then in Georgia): "I want to thank Gen. Eisenhower, on whose coat-tails I rode into office in 1952."

Inside Birmingham

President Kennedy in his action on Birmingham could scarcely have been ignorant of a realistic appraisal of the whys and wherefores of the Negro drive in that Alabama city. For Charles Bartlett, syndicated columnist and probably the Washington newspaperman closest to the President, last week wrote that the Birmingham agitation illustrated how the Negro crusade can slip into "impatient hands."

Bartlett suggested that the unfortunate disorders and clashes would have been "less unpleasant" if the followers of the Rev. Martin Luther King had waited for the new city administration under Mayor-elect Albert Boutwell to take over power. King did not have the support of local Negro leaders in his timing. But the "impatient" motivation of King, the President's friend notes, sprang from a "competitive struggle for the leadership of the Negroes' equality movement." A number of other Negro leaders and their organizations are vying with each other—notably CORE, the Students Non-Violent Coordinating Committee and Malcolm X and his Black Muslims. King has won prestige and support from crisis and "he must have crisis to sustain them."

Bartlett reports that this Negro leader has had two recent failures, in Albany, Ga., and Mississippi, and "his money supply, heavily dependent upon Nelson Rockefeller and New York support, had dwindled. At all costs he must maintain his image as a striking force. . . . " Bartlett did not say so, but presumably King's Negro rivals compete with him for this "money supply."

By-Election in Calif.

An intense race is developing for the Southern California congressional seat vacated by the death of Democratic Rep. Clyde Doyle. Republicans are enthusiastic over the possibility of electing Del Clawson, the conservative mayor of Compton, despite a Trojan-horse operation by Democrats designed to split the Republican vote.

On June 11, three Republicans—two of them recent "converts"—will face five Democrats in a winner-take-all contest to fill the 23rd District seat.

Clawson, the GOP's choice, had a clear field against five Democrats until two registered Democrats—both political unknowns—developed a sudden change of heart, re-registered as Republicans and took out nomination papers—all on the same day. Clawson supporters note that neither man responded to a party call to appear before a fact-finding committee seeking the best GOP candidate, and neither has support within the party.

"Now," muses a Clawson campaign aide, "we are running against seven Democrats."

The last-minute, surprise entry of these "Republicrats" (as they were dubbed by a local paper) is seen as an attempt to compensate for the badly

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Come Out Fighting, Barry!

From the Tulsa *Tribune*

Come on, Barry, quit being coy!

Why don't you toss your Arizona stetson right into the middle of the Republican ring and run for president? Win or lose you can help the country.

The country needs an alternative to the devouring Moloch of ever-bigger government. It needs a clear-cut choice between a high degree of individual freedom and the progressive loss of that freedom. It needs an option of destinations, not merely parallel highways to the police state.

The misnamed "liberals" are quick to assure Republicans that if they adopt any course except "me-tooism," they will lose. And by following this advice too often the Republicans have slipped into a chronic minority party.

They now control only a third of the seats in the U. S. Congress and the governorships of only 17 of the 50 states. They have compromised and amended their principles until no one knows what they stand for. In many cases, they have merely offered to do as amateurs what the professionals are already doing to the country. No wonder that party is in trouble.

But the very weakness of the Republican party presents its great opportunity. If you are desperate enough you can afford to be bold. There comes a time when there's no profit in timidity. As Marshal Foch said at the Battle of the Marne: "My right is driven in. My left has vanished. My center is hard pressed. The situation is excellent. I will attack at once!"

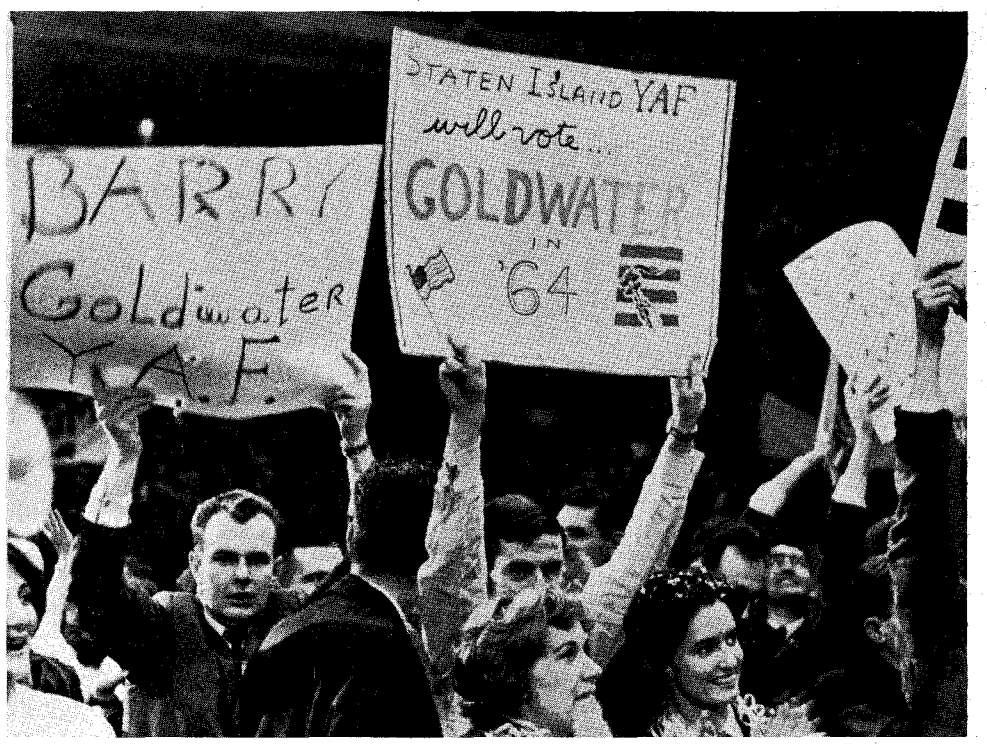
If the Republican party hopes to preserve the nation from being trussed in a strait jacket by power-hungry rulers, it had better quit trying to outpromise the promisers. You can't lick at give-aways the boys who seem to think that most of the national wealth should be funneled into Washington to be redistributed at their pleasure.

The Republican party can only stand on broad principles. But these principles, properly stated, can make sense to a lot of Americans who are now hopelessly confused.

We don't know whether a party standing on principles can win in '64. But we're pretty darned sure that if the Republican party doesn't stand boldly against the bureaucratic bear-hugs which are crushing us with love, it won't win in '64, '68 or ever.

Republicans should examine their early history. Because a man named Lincoln stood on principle, he was defeated for the Senate in 1858. And because he still stood on principle he was elected president in 1860. The party rose because it presented a clear alternative to the confusion of the Democrats a century ago. When have the Democrats been more confused than now?

We like Barry Goldwater because he represents an alternative. He has been too smart to take advice from people who never vote Republican anyway. He denies the progressiveness of progressive tyranny. He is, as he titled his book, a conservative with a conscience.



Young Americans for Freedom demonstrate at a recent YAF convention. These young people would be valuable assets in a Goldwater-for-President campaign.

Whether such a candidate would win or lose, he would draw together the forces that fear and hate "Big Brotherism," and in that new unity there would be power to slow or halt this menace. These forces are now scattered and leaderless. It's time to give them a banner they can follow.

Come on, Barry.

Get into the race with both feet—and fists.

VISIT FAMOUS SEVEN FALLS

Colorado Springs, Colorado

No visit to the Pike's Peak region is complete without seeing Famous Seven Falls. Nature's scenic masterpiece by day, a fairyland under lights at night. The only completely lighted canyon and waterfall in the world. Viewed by 300,000 visitors each year and acclaimed The Grandest Mile of Scenery in Colorado.

POLITICAL REALITIES OF ROCKY'S MARRIAGE

By FRANK CONNIFF

In the New York *Journal-American*

Now that we've oozed sweetness and gush about the happy honeymooners, let's face up to the realities of the political situation confronting Gov. Nelson Rockefeller.

As a presidential possibility, Gov. Rockefeller is in Deadsville. He is about as well-positioned a duck as any Democratic candidate could ask for, and he would be shot down with merciless efficiency. And not once would the issue of divorce, or remarriage, or whatever, be raised in the campaign.

This is not to say that New York's personable governor would not be able to obtain the Republican nomination, either in 1964 or four years later. The power over delegates to a GOP convention emanating from the New York banking and business community is awesome to behold, as witness the way candidates like Wendell Wilkie, Thomas E. Dewey and, yes, Dwight D. Eisenhower, were rammed down the throats of Republican conventioneers who clearly wanted another man.

But the Wall Street tycoons who are able to pressure Republican delegates into nominating a candidate have nothing to say once the country starts voting on that crucial Tuesday in November. This little truth made itself felt in 1948 when Harry Truman pulverized the darling of the New York banking set—fellow name of Dewey—if memory serves.

What has been overlooked in the political speculation touched off by the Rockefeller nuptials is that the voting results are geared to small percentages. The prime example of same sits in the White House at this very moment. John F. Kennedy was elected president by the margin of one-tenth of one per cent of the entire canvass. One minor jar or dislocation, for any of a number of reasons, and the New Frontier would never have seen the light of print.

A paragraph or so above, we said that Harry S. Truman "pulverized" his Republican rival. Actually, Mr. Truman was a minority president, polling only 49.5 per cent of the total vote—the Wallace vote of 1,157,000 accounting for the discrepancy. And going all the way back to 1860, Abraham Lincoln was elected president with only 39.8 per cent.

In other words, if out of 100 voters who might have voted for Rockefeller, only five or six switched because of his divorce and re-marriage, the projection of this figure would prove disastrous to a presidential candidate. Ordinarily, one might say that's a dandy majority: 95 out of 100.

But you cannot hand over those five votes on a subsidiary non-issue like your candidate's marital status and expect to take on the candidate of a party which already has a stranglehold on the labor vote, the Negro vote, the big city vote, the Irish-Catholic vote and several other segments of vital importance on election day. The percentages are just too demanding.

The politicians will take note of these realities after the sentimentalists have enjoyed their orgy. And they also will remember three things about the Rockefeller-Murphy romance that the hypocrites dislike to mention in print:

(1) There is still another Mrs. Rockefeller, wife of 31 years, mother of five, who is sitting home alone; (2) Mrs. Murphy-Rockefeller does not have the custody of her four children, and apparently put up no fight to acquire it, thereby becoming the first politician's wife to put a knock on motherhood, and (3) neither Gov. Rockefeller nor his bride was single and alone when they began their relationship. Both, in fact, were married.

These candid truths, which every political leader will recognize as bearing on the issue, are provoked by the blatantly obvious attempt of pro-Rockefeller organs to smother this fascinating story in treacle and goo. It may be a romantic story, but it isn't particularly pretty, and no amount of touching up is going to make it so.

(Reprints of this page are available. See page 126.)

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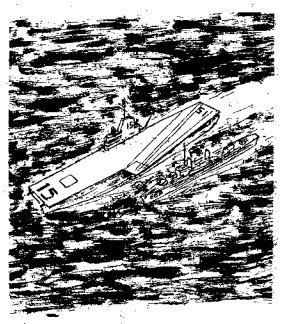
splintered condition of the Democratic party. The leading Democrat is liberal Assemblyman Carley Porter, but he is joined by four serious other contenders, one of whom is also named Porter.

Assemblyman Porter is troubled by the long-standing split in Democratic ranks between the regular party organization bossed by Jesse "Big Daddy" Unruh and the left-wing California Democratic Council.

Faced with party dissension and an upsurge of Republican sentiment, Assemblyman Porter hopes to get help from President Kennedy. According to Republican sources, JFK will be in the district June 7 to stump for him. Clawson, a forceful conservative who has taken Kennedy to task for his lack of a Cuban policy and for managing the news, welcomes this prospect.

Guantanamo

Disturbing reports that the Administration plans to relinquish Guantanamo Naval Station in Cuba continue to crop up on Capitol Hill. Guantanamo was the issue U. N. Ambassador Adlai Stevenson said he was willing to "discuss" with the Soviets after they pulled their missiles out of Cuba.



Bob Wilson (R.-Calif.), a member of the House Armed Services Committee, recently told a Republican gathering that testimony before that committee strongly indicated the Pentagon does, indeed, have such a plan in mind. According to Wilson, the Pentagon demands $18 million to expand Navy facilities in Puerto Rico. There is no justification for that amount of money, said Wilson, unless the United States is preparing to remove its naval forces to Puerto Rico from Guantanamo.

The continuing rumor the United States still plans to give up "Gitmo" comes at a time when leaks to the press suggest the Administration is willing to make a *rapprochement* with Castro if Soviet troops are finally removed from Cuba. Castro might agree to this, say the Latin experts, if the United States would give up Guantanamo. (As far back as 1958, *Human Events* related that if Castro came to power this would be one of his foremost demands.)

Moon Shot

The Senate Republican Policy Committee, under chairman Bourke B. Hickenlooper (Iowa), has issued a devastating critique of the Administration's $20-billion crash program to get a man to the moon. The President, however, has continued to hitch his wagon to the moon shot.

JFK and his Administration claim the crash program will pay off big military dividends. Yet, after analyzing every possible argument, the policy committee finds there is no conceivable advantage such a moon shot might gain for the United States in this area.

Far from indicating Project Apollo (the name for the moon program) will benefit the United States militarily, the report finds that scientists say a missile fired from the moon to some spot on earth would be infinitely less accurate than any missile fired from the United States to enemy territory. One missile placed on the moon, moreover, would cost "approximately a thousand times more than a missile located on earth," says the report. In addition, the moon is no place for a military observer. Scientists, stresses the report, think military surveillance would be "very difficult, even impossible" from 240,000 miles.

The Apollo program, the report suggests, may, in fact, be totally dangerous to our military programs since it sucks up vast numbers of scientists and billions in funds which could be used on other vitally important programs.

Dodd Raps State Department

Sen. Thomas Dodd (D.-Conn.), in a wire last week to Secretary Dean Rusk, condemned the State Department for reversing a long-standing policy by refusing to oppose Red-dominated Hungary's entrance into the United Nations. Dodd feared this action would "destroy" the hopes of the captive peoples. In addition, he claimed this "radical shift in policy"—after repeated department assurances to lawmakers there would be no policy change—"strikes at the integrity of relationship between the executive branch and the legislative branch" of government.

JFK's Foreign Policy Hit

Echoes have not died down from the formidable barrage which Republican senators hurled at what all observers agree is the New Frontier's most vulnerable area: foreign policy.

With a degree of unanimity and organization rare among the opposition, 10 GOP senators—from George Aiken (Vt.) and Jacob Javits (N.Y.) on the left, to John Tower (Tex.) and Wallace Bennett (Utah) on the right—recited the failures of JFK's "wait-and-see" policy abroad. They chose the anniversary of V-E Day 1945, when the United States emerged powerful and victorious in Europe, as a touchstone to point up the weak, retreating stance of this country under JFK.

"Cuba evokes a worldwide image of a weak and wavering United States," cried Sen. Tower. "We just want to know what the Administration policy is," exclaimed Sen. Peter Dominick of Colorado. ". . .All we can see is the apparent theory that if you ignore a danger, it will go away." Sen. Bennett remarked, "The Administration's only solution for any problem seems to be based on the spending of money."

These thrusts from many long speeches—some presenting extended and mordant analyses of the Kennedy policies round the world—received their climatic dramatization in a phillipic from Senate Minority Leader Everett Dirksen, made effective by his famous oratorical technique:

"You name me Laos. . . and I name you a country in grave jeapordy from the Red ideological scourge. . . You name me Europe, and I name you a stone wall that separates East from West Berlin. . . You name me Cuba and I name you a country that was liberated by American arms and today is under the heel of communism and is the stooge of Khrushchev, 18 years after V-E Day."

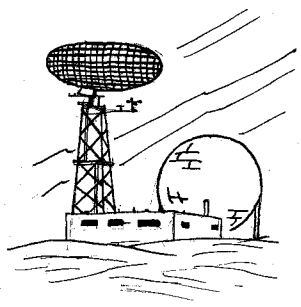
The Democratic majority leader, making a gallant effort to answer the group in behalf of his party, recalled Truman's aid program to Greece and Turkey, Truman's Marshall plan and the war in Korea, but, significantly, he failed to offer any corresponding evidence of a block-Red-expansion policy since Kennedy became President.

The Fright Peddler

Military officials at the Pentagon are losing sleep these days reading news accounts that Paul H. Nitze is grooming himself to be No. 2 man in the Pentagon when Roswell Gilpatric retires. Nitze, a Defense Department "whiz kid," is currently serving as assistant secretary of defense for international security affairs, a euphemism for his role as a chief disarmament adviser to Defense Secretary Robert S. McNamara.

What has duly alarmed these officials are statements by Nitze on April 28, 1960, to some 500 business and professional people at Asilomar on California's Monterey Peninsula. That gathering—sponsored by the Army, Air Force and the Navy—was one of those military conferences which Sen. J. William Fulbright (D.-Ark.) never mentioned in his diatribe against military-sponsored seminars for the public on communism and national security affairs.

At this seminar, Nitze peddled the following frightening thoughts: The United States should "scrap" its "fixed-based" missile and bomber bases; the United States should put the Strategic Air Command, headquartered in Omaha, Neb., and considered the prime American defense system against the Soviets, under "a NATO command"; and we should inform the United Nations "that NATO will turn over *ultimate power of decision* on the use of these systems to the General Assembly of the United Nations. . ." (italics added). Nitze suggested the United States should take these and, possibly, ". . .a series of unilateral actions designed to produce reciprocal action on the part of our allies and also on the part of our enemies."



In short, Nitze has proposed that America, unilaterally and without evidence of a Soviet willingness to reciprocate, should put its protective power into the hands of an international organization whose "neutralist" secretary general, U Thant, worked very closely with the late Eugene Kiselev. Under Secretary Kiselev, who died April 17, was a full-fledged Russian Communist.

NOT MERELY GOSSIP

• *Henry Jackson (D.-Wash.), a ranking member of the Senate Armed Services Committee, has reportedly exploded over the Administration's firing of Adm. George W. Anderson, chief of naval operations. Jackson, Democratic national chairman in 1960, lays the blame for Anderson's dismissal squarely on the doorstep of Defense Secretary Robert S. McNamara.*

• Former President Eisenhower, in "Spending Into Trouble" (*Saturday Evening Post*, May 18), stepped up the tempo and pitch of his campaign against JFK's "wild spending," scoring two combat victories: (1) His still great popular influence substantially reinforced the economy bloc in Congress. (2) He also "blocked the kick" of JFK's hand-picked businessman group last week which wants taxes reduced regardless of whether spending is cut; one of Ike's most emphatic points was: "As a precondition to any reduction in taxes we must cut spending."

EISENHOWER

• *President Juan Bosch of the Dominican Republic, welcomed last year as the darling of American liberals, is now acting like a Latin-American dictator with (1) his threat to invade Haiti; (2) his moves to collectivize the Dominican economy; (3) his party's line of class warfare and anti-capitalism, and (4) his government's smears and intimidations of Dominican critics of his policies.*

• President Walter Reuther of the United Auto Workers Union is reportedly supporting a plan to unite Communist and non-Communist labor unions in Italy into one monolithic organization. Tagged as Reuther's own *"apertura a sinistra"* (opening to the left), this plan has received the thumbs-down treatment from George Meany, chief of the AFL-CIO. Anti-Red experts in the labor movement believe the Communist labor leaders, extremely powerful in Italy, would end up dominating any such organization.

REUTHER

• *The significant victory of the Communist party in Italy recently is very embarrassing to the New Frontier "experts on communism." It explodes in their faces their pet theory that communism thrives only in poverty-stricken, "underprivileged" countries. Since World War II, Italy has seen more wage gains for workers, more social benefits, old-age pensions, etc., than has Adenauer's Germany, regarded as the modern "economic miracle." Italians have never had it so good. All this was won under an anti-Communist, moderate, centrist party, the Christian Democrats. But when that party "turned left" under New Frontier advice, the "Communist miracle" occurred at the ballot box.*

• President Kennedy may have started something in his last press conference when he figuratively gave the back of his hand to Gen. Lucius Clay. JFK abruptly urged that U.S. funds be voted for India's government-owned steel mill. This is just what Gen. Clay's foreign aid report opposed. JFK persuaded Clay to head the foreign aid commission; Clay is known to be a hot-tempered old warrior. Capitol Hill cloakrooms wonder if—and how—Clay will retort.

CLAY

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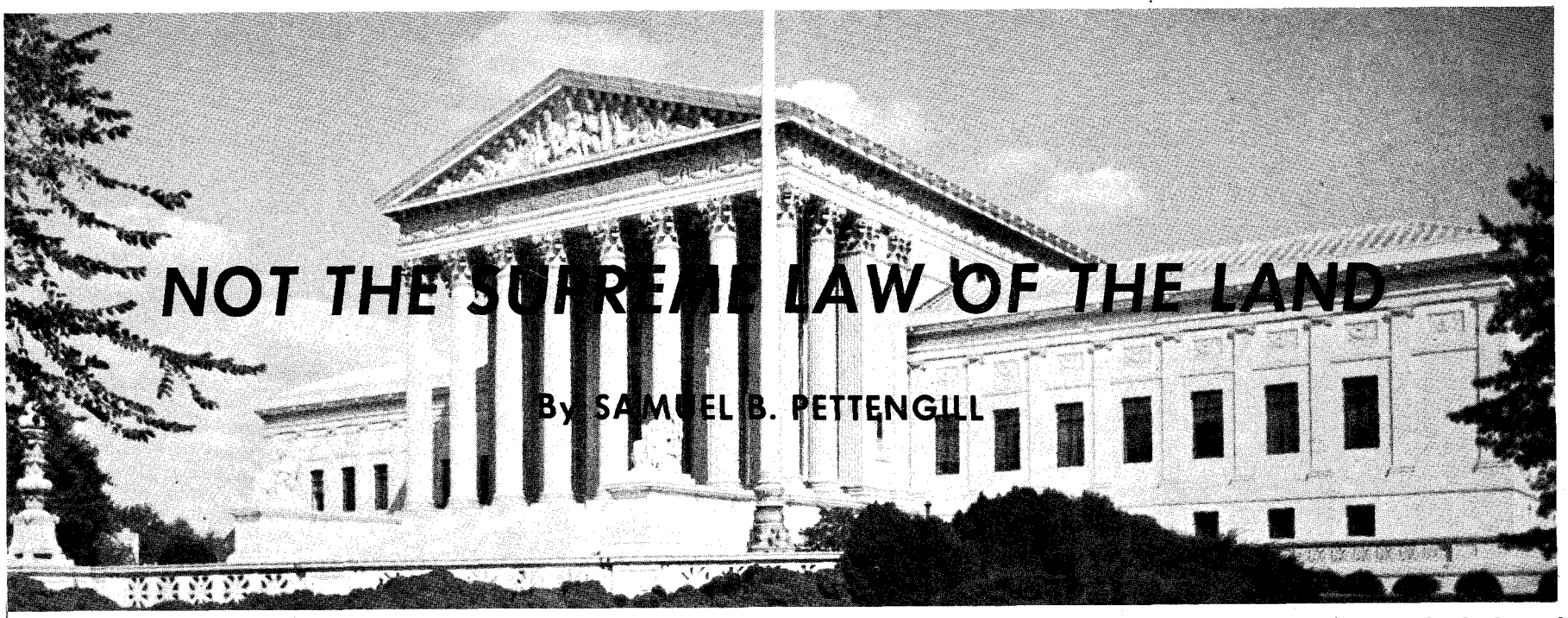


NOT THE SUPREME LAW OF THE LAND

By SAMUEL B. PETTENGILL

(Reprints of this article are available. See page 126.)

ABOUT THE AUTHOR: The Honorable Samuel B. Pettengill has had a long, active and distinguished career. Born in Oregon in 1886, he moved "back East" where he was reared and received his law degree at Yale University. Elected as a Democratic representative from Indiana in 1930, he served four terms (1931-1939). He was not a candidate for re-election in 1938. The war-torn Forties brought attention to the former congressman as a newspaper columnist, national radio commentator and author. He now makes his home in Grafton, Vt.

The general acceptance of today's slogan that nine or even five men, neither elected nor removable by the people, can rewrite the Constitution as they see fit, and that it then becomes everyone's duty to accept their views as "law," is a long stride toward Bonapartism in this country.

The saying that "The Constitution is what the Supreme Court says it is," is attributed to Charles Evans Hughes. But I have a letter from a former justice of the Supreme Court who says that Hughes told him that he was speaking in a jocular mood, and had always regretted his remark.

A decision by the United States Supreme Court on a constitutional question is not *any kind of law.*

This is because a court has no authority to make law, or amend the Constitution. Its judgment, whether right or wrong, is, of course, binding on the litigants in the case, unless reversed on appeal. But it is not binding on other persons. As Chief Justice Harlan F. Stone said in 1942, a court's judgment "is binding only on the parties to the particular proceedings" (Columbia Broadcasting Company vs. United States, 316 U. S. 407). This statement by the chief justice should dispose of the question, especially as there was no dissent to it.

A Right to Disagree

It is true, of course, that other persons may agree that the reasons given by a court for its decision are sound and right, and decide to follow them in similar situations. But they may not agree, and that is their right. Why? Because a court judgment is not law. No court has the authority to make law.

Law can be laid down only by those who have the authority to make law. In our country, that authority is given only to legislators, elected by the people, and removable by the people. Or it is in the people themselves in adopting, or amending their Constitution, federal or state. There *let it remain !*

The Constitution says how it can be amended—only by the people, in the manner prescribed. No court is mentioned.

Second, the Constitution says that *all* legislative, or lawmaking, powers of the federal government are vested in Congress. It does not make the Supreme Court a constitutional convention. As *all* federal legislative power is vested in Congress, *none* is vested in the Supreme Court!

Third, the Constitution says that "this Constitution and the laws of the United States which shall be made (by Congress) in pursuance thereof (plus treaties) shall be the supreme law of the land" and all "judicial officers, both of the United States and of the several States, shall be bound by oath or affirmation to support this Constitution."

All judges take this oath. It is a contradiction in terms to argue that a judge can lawfully change what he has taken an oath to support. This was universally accepted until recently.

As Chief Justice Marshall said in 1824, "Judicial power, as contradistinguished from the power of the law, has no existence. Courts are the mere instruments of the law and can will nothing." They can decide cases, rightly or wrongly, and the parties to the case are bound by their judgments, but no one else! If their decisions were to bind other persons, then such persons would be ruled against without being heard, without "their day in court." This would violate all concepts of justice and law.

Judges can say what they *think* **the Constitution means, and apply that to the decision of the case before them. They can overrule, or refuse to follow what they or other judges have previously** *thought* **was the law. But they cannot** *make law,* **or rewrite the Constitution. A court decision is an** *opinion!*

On the other hand, Congress, in which is vested all legislative powers of the federal government, can decide what it *thinks* should be the law, by a majority vote, what it *thinks* becomes *law*, assuming that it is constitutional. But what a court thinks should be the law, does not become law because it thinks it should.

If that were not true, the Supreme Court could never overrule its own previous interpretation of the Constitution as it has done time and again. But if these previous decisions were "the supreme law of the land" which the judges had sworn to uphold, how could they reverse such decisions without violating their oath?

That the Supreme Court has at times acted as a super-legislature has been many times stated by Supreme Court judges themselves in dissenting opinions. Conferences of the chief justices and attorneys general of the states have also charged the Supreme Court with violating the Constitution.

Those who are making a fetish of the segregation decision should remember that the opponents of slavery were once shouted down by the same political ballyhoo. The Fugitive Slave Act of 1850, which was held constitutional by the Supreme Court, was not considered "the supreme law of the land" by men and women of the highest character in the North who kept right on helping fugitive slaves to freedom via the "underground railroad." The shoe was then on the other foot.

The same thing can be said of the Dred Scott decision of 1857. Did the people of the North bow down to this decision as the supreme law of the land, binding on them? They did not. In fact, the man who did more to abolish slavery than any other, Abraham Lincoln, said that if he were a member of Congress, and the same question arose, he would not be bound by the Dred Scott decision. And so, on other occasions, Thomas Jefferson and Andrew Jackson said that while a court decision bound the litigants, it did not bind *them*!

In the interest of stability and uniformity of the law, it is generally desirable that lower federal and state courts should abide by a decision of the U. S. Supreme Court, even if they think it is wrong. But they do so, not because the Constitution says they must—for it does not—but for the practical reason that if they do not abide by it, they will be reversed on appeal.

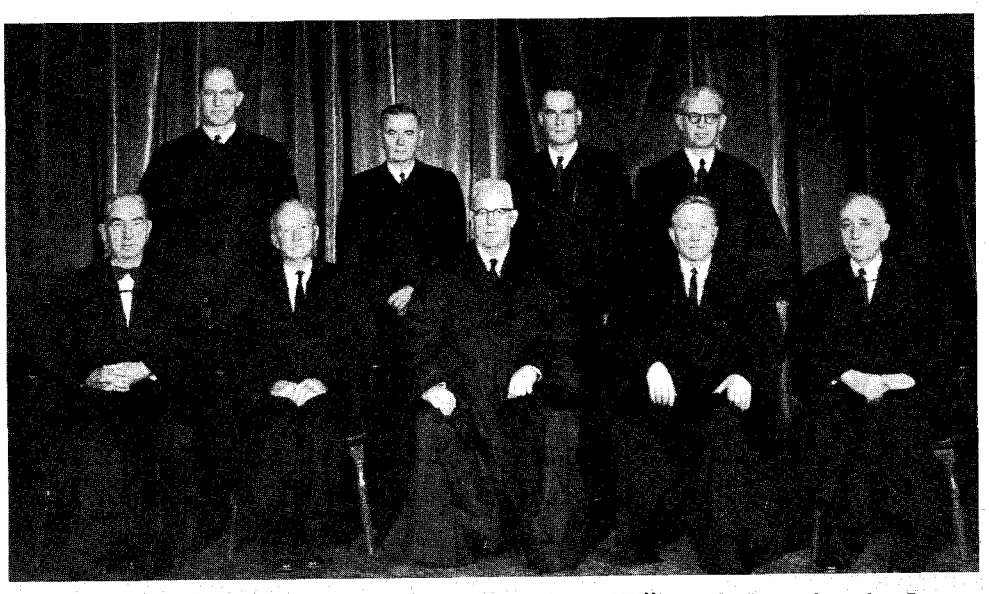
Dangers of Blind Faith

It is also true that a court may participate in the lawmaking process by giving reasons for its decision which seem so convincing that they are gradually accepted by the people *as good law.* This is how the common law of England developed.

For example, the reasons by Chief Justice Marshall for deciding that an act of Congress is unconstitutional when clearly repugnant to the Constitution, were so powerful and convincing that other judges, Congress and the people gradually accepted his decision as sound law under which they wished to live. The process is like that of a principal ratifying the act of his agent. But Marshall did not *make law* by his own say-so. *He had no such power.*

The political shibboleth that "the Constitution is what the judges say it is," no matter what, is so destructive of constitutional principles, that every patriotic American should condemn it. For there is a rapidly growing concentration of governmental, economic and financial power in Washington, and particularly in the chief executive, who appoints all federal judges.

If this trend is not soon reversed, then the statement by a high official that "the Constitution was written for an entirely different period in our nation's history" may become the epitaph of American liberty.



Supreme Court Justices—Standing: Byron White, William J. Brenning Jr., Potter Stewart, Arthur J. Goldberg. Sitting: Tom C. Clark, Hugo L. Black, Chief Justice Earl Warren, William O. Douglas, John Harlan.

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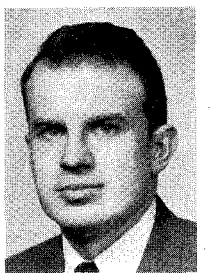

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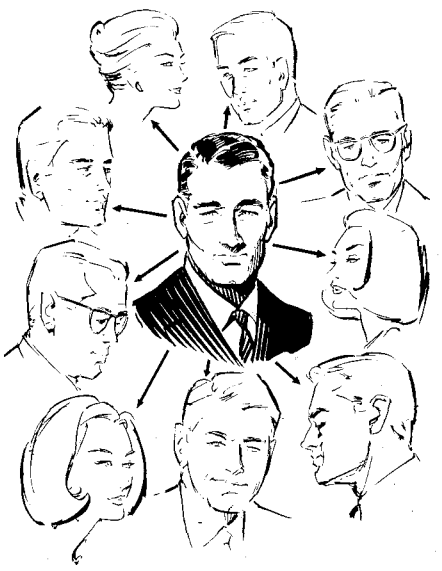

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SHOULD TWODOT, MONTANA, BE FORCED T

'NO,' SAY NATIO

NO! Says San Diego

From the San Diego *Union*

The measure JFK advocates is virtually the same program that failed to get out of committee in Congress last year. It would provide loans and grants to any community of 2,500 or more that supposedly has a transit problem.

The Chamber of Commerce of the United States in a recent survey among 2,700 local and state chambers found that fewer than 2 per cent approve such a vast, federal program.

San Diego has growing transit problems, but certainly no federal program is needed to solve them.

NO! Says Cleveland

From the Cleveland *Plain Dealer*

We continue to oppose the transit bill as unfair to the average taxpayer, even though Cleveland might get a grant. (Some members of the CTS board are licking their chops at the prospect of feeding at the federal trough for new rapid transit lines.)

Granted, mass transit systems in some areas of the country are in bad shape. Some of the New York and Boston commuter lines, especially. Granted that every city could stand some improvements in its transit system. But this federal handout game would be another weakening of the nation's credit, another invasion by the federal government of the local field of operation and another weakening of local determination to solve one's own problems.

NO! Says Chicago

From the Chicago *Tribune*

Chicago is one of the cities which has sent representatives to Washington to testify in favor of the transit bill as introduced by Sen. Williams (D.-N. J.). The Chicago Transit Authority has plans for expansions and improvements which would cost several hundred million dollars. There is no chance that these expansions can be financed from fare-box receipts. The CTA could not sell revenue bonds to finance the projects. The only way to finance them is through an outright subsidy.

Other large cities are in the same boat. Now that the Kennedy Administration has promised to open the treasury door for transit subsidies, there is little prospect that cities will try very hard to get private financing or will impose local taxes for transit improvements.

With the federal government facing an $11.9 billion deficit in the fiscal year beginning July 1, this is no time to undertake a spending program which has no foreseeable limits. Mass transit in big cities needs help, but the essential needs can and should be met by the cities themselves.

NO! Says Los Angeles

From the Los Angeles *Times*

Let's stipulate that cities ought to solve their own transit problems—by extended local taxation if it can be proved in the public interest—without rushing to Washington for dubious assistance.

But let's also realize that the cost of mass rapid transportation of the sort projected by Los Angeles runs much higher than the $375 million asked by the Senate bill.

So can't you imagine the mad scramble of communities around the country for their "share"? And the hurt feelings of those that don't wind up with enough of this freshly smoked "pork"?

NO! Says Wheeling

From the Wheeling (W. Va.) *Intelligencer*

If the time comes when a choice must be made between a form of subsidy, public operation or abandonment of service, the responsibility of decision will be ours, not Washington's.

NO! Says Phoenix

From the Phoenix *Arizona Republic*

Mayor Sam Mardian of Phoenix, who testified against the bill in Washington, put his finger on the best reason for opposing this proposed addition to the federal deficit. He said quite clearly that there was no reason for Phoenix to help pay for a transportation system in, say, Boston. That's exactly what the urban mass transportation act would provide.

Of course, once Phoenix tax dollars had gone to Boston, it would be only natural for Phoenix to demand Boston tax dollars in return. Both money and plans would be funneled through Washington, with a consequent loss in efficiency and a resulting increase in political influence.

NO! Says Oakland

From the Oakland *Tribune*

The federal government is equally beholden to communities all over the country, and can scarcely be expected to tailor its subsidies to fit the exact needs of each local community. There would, of course, be deep and costly rivalry between cities to grab off federal plums, which might result in no city at all getting the kind of transportation it really needs.

It seems absurd to send local tax dollars clear to the federal government, where they are shrunk by bureaucracy, and then back to local levels again. The only possible reason for it is to centralize control over urban affairs in Washington, which would be a loss of liberty and flexibility for Americans. Do we, as a people, really want to have to ask the federal government for permission and money whenever we want to improve our local transportation systems?

NO! Says Binghamton

From the Binghamton (N. Y.) *Press*

Polls have been taken that show that many would not abandon use of their cars and use mass transit even if they were paid to do so. A mass transit program that will ultimately cost a billion dollars. That's just one metropolitan area. Estimates of $20 or $30 billion are made for the total cost of modernizing mass transit facilities over the entire nation.

However, the cost of mass transit for the big cities is only a part of the cost of a federal program for mass transit. To get a bill aiding the biggest cities through Congress, there will have to be provision made for siphoning moneys to congressional districts without mass transit.

It is elementary that a bill providing for aid to a small area of the nation cannot get the necessary majority unless it includes comparable funds for other areas. To cite two such bills: Before the public housing bills—primarily for the benefit of the largest cities—could be passed, they had to be broadened to provide housing expenditures for "cities" down to 2,500 in population.

Second example is: The Area Redevelopment Administration. The original purpose of the bill was to help the "depressed areas"—those with the greatest unemployment. With few exceptions, these are the big cities. But ARA does

Do you believe you and your neighbors should help pay the cost of providing mass transit facilities for New York, Boston and other cities?

Because of the concentration of economic facilities—factories, office headquarters, banking and other service industries to business—the big cities have far more than their proportion of the nation's taxable wealth. Therefore, if tax subsidies to mass transit should be considered desirable, why should such taxes be levied upon persons a thousand miles away who have plenty of local projects themselves to pay for?

Write your representative TODAY to vote against the bill now before the House which would authorize federal aid to mass transit.

Of course, the specified appropriation—$375 million a year—is the "foot-in-the-door" amount. Actually $375 million is a pittance compared to what will be spent once the principle has been established that the federal government should subsidize local transit facilities.

The San Francisco-Oakland region has just approved a mass transit system costs much less than networks of highways into cities. And cities are being strangled by traffic jams. But can laws be enacted to keep motorists out of cities?

What assurance exists that if transit systems were subsidized, modernized and enlarged, public patronage would be increased in justification of the heavy investment?

NO! Says St. Louis

From the St. Louis *Globe-Democrat*

This year the Administration wanted $500 million to subsidize mass transportation in cities, by grants and loans. This was scaled down, by a specious amendment, to $375 million.

But it would cost Uncle Sam $6 billion to $10 billion, if federal government meets its share of

Mass Transit: 'Shining Example of Wha

By SEN. NORRI

At last I have something to report to you, and it's not good. Apparently the White House grew tired of the Senate's idling and put on the heat. The Administration's overwhelming majority fell into line, and the President's bills are being snatched from their quiet repose in committees and jammed through the Senate.

The first and most significant was the Urban Mass Transportation Bill. This measure is nothing more nor less than a sop to a few big cities and their suburbs. It puts the federal government into the business of carrying commuters. That's a shining example of what the federal government ought not to be doing.

This was a billion-dollar bill, but even its proponents were a little appalled at that amount, so they salved their consciences by reducing it to three-quarters of a billion. This was a mere gesture, however, for it's a continuing program, and the government's own experts admit it could run as high as $10 billion over the next 10 years.

The bill puts a premium on waste. The subsidies go only to transportation systems that aren't self-supporting. Thus, the only way a city can get federal aid under this bill is to make sure its transit system loses money.

The bill makes a czar of the housing administrator. He may give away millions to any community he chooses, forcing it to adopt plans and rate scales acceptable to him, and him alone. If any city fails to comply, he can stop all assistance from his agency. That means he could cut off slum clearance and urban redevelopment right in the middle of a project no matter how long it has been going on. Never has there been a more brazen display of naked, ruthless federal power.

This kind of one-man power is an invitation for politics. The bill fixes no priorities or guidelines in choosing among

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PAY FOR NEW YORK'S TRANSIT SYSTEM?

S BIG CITY DAILIES

not want to die. No matter how much prosperity comes to America, ARA must find enough "depressed" area to maintain its power and expand it. How can ARA perpetuate itself? Only passing out money every year to as many congressional districts as possible. Since many congressional districts have no great cities, ARA must find "depression" in a large number of smaller communities.

So by some peculiar twist of logic, an amazing proportion of its allocations turn out to be for smaller communities.

Thus it will be with mass transit. The tears now are being shed over the "millions of commuters desperately trying" every morning to get from their suburban homes into the big cities like New York, Philadelphia and Boston. But the federal agency which manages the program will have to invest ways to send "mass transit" money into a thousand smaller communities—or Congress won't keep on voting the money.

On all these "money from Washington" programs, the percentage of waste is so colossal that only a writer of "fantasy fiction" can write accurately about their operations.

Well, what can YOU do about it? You can begin by writing your representative. Then get your friends to write him. Write " letters to the editor." "Letters to the editor" columns in daily and weekly newspapers have enormous readership.

Also, invite friends to your home. Ask them to act. Ask each of them to start his own circle of influence.

Finally, don't, don't, don't decide to "go national."

There is an enormous surplus of national organizations. There is an enormous shortage of persons and groups willing to do the pick-and-shovel work at the local level—in a block or neighborhood or community.

So many want to be generals and colonels. So few are willing to be corporals and privates. The liberals have a million shop stewards and local union officials who take orders from the Reuthers and the Careys and transmit them to the 18 million rank-and-file members.

The conservatives have no such regiments. They must depend upon the voluntary effort of millions of persons just like you.

handling mass transit in the United States, as visualized under this scheme.

It is impossible to justify endowing mass transportation in 26 major cities, or more, at a cost to every taxpayer in the land. It is illogical and wrong, for instance, to tax farmers in Missouri for St. Louis' failure to solve its transit problem.

The national welfare cannot require a tiff digger outstate or a cow puncher in Wyoming to pay for mass transportation in St. Louis.

NO! Says Indianapolis

From the Indianapolis *Star*

What this program provides is that the rest of the nation's people—the farmers and ranchers and other country dwellers, the residents of smaller towns and cities, as well as the more hardened fold who sweat out their lives in the heart areas of the great cities—all these will toss their tax dollars into the pot to help speed and ease the daily travels of those poor unfortunates who work in the big cities but live in the suburbs.

Kinda makes a lump in your throat, doesn't it?

NO! Says Tulsa

From the Tulsa *Tribune*

Should the man in Tulsa who goes to work at his own expense or the Creek County rancher who lives next to his job be required to pay part of the fare of the New York commuter who has his home in White Plains?

This is the simple issue in President Kennedy's $500 million subsidy plan for commuter transportation.

NO! Says W. S. J.

From the *Wall Street Journal*

Before the Senate finally approved the measure, Sen. Abraham Ribicoff (D.-Conn.) made an appeal to his fellow legislators from largely rural states. Some of them, it seems, hadn't been persuaded that their constituents ought to subsidize transit programs for a few metropolitan areas that should be able to foot the bill themselves. The senator, going straight to the point, said that "if votes are withheld by states that have little or no present need for federal funds for commuters, where do these states expect to find support for their own urgent needs?"

NO! Says Sioux Falls

From the Sioux Falls *Argus-Leader*

Apparently Congress is of the opinion that the U. S. Treasury has so much money that it doesn't know what to do with it.

That's about the only explanation that one can provide for its ridiculous action in approving an appropriation of $375,000,000 for what is called "urban mass transit facilities."

But that, of course, isn't the real explanation. It is to be found in the fact that major cities of the United States went to Washington with tin cup in hand and begged for funds to solve what should be purely a local problem—the transportation of people within a city and its suburbs.

NO! Says Charleston

Charleston (S. C.) *News and Courier*

The heart of the problem is the Northeast metropolitan area, including portions of New Jersey, New York and Connecticut. These states should assume responsibility of providing improved train service. The need for better mass transit is the ideal situation for an interstate compact.

Southern states meet some of their educational needs by such an interstate compact (the Southern Regional Education Board). New York, New Jersey and Connecticut—among the wealthiest states of the union—are financially able to provide a way to get their citizens to their jobs in downtown business districts.

NO! Says Chattanooga

From the Chattanooga *News-Free Press*

Some say federal aid is needed for New York and Los Angeles, for example to build subways and monorails and other modern transportation systems. But why should Chattanoogans and others pay for local transportation in other areas?

The federal aid would be available to any "built-up area." There may be more than 50,000 communities that could qualify for the handouts. The federal share of such projects could range from 66.6 per cent to 75 per cent. And it has been estimated that if the transit bill passes, the next few years may see demands on the taxpayers for some $10 billion for transit handouts alone.

NO! Says Shreveport

From the Shreveport *Times*

If there ever was a political plum orchard being prepared to enable a thorough plucking of the American taxpayer, it is this Administration measure. It has virtually nothing to do with the problems of the railroad industry and is not looked on as necessary in most of the large cities which do have transportation problems. Fundamentally, it is to pour tens of millions of tax dollars into New York's city-owned subway system and railroad commuter systems, and into Boston's—in the home state of the Kennedys.

NO! Says Spokane

From the Spokane *Spokesman-Review*

The mass transit bill pending in the U. S. House of Representatives Rules Committee could prove a serious deterrent to the responsibility and initiative of local governments across the nation.

In at least one major city there is incontrovertible evidence that it already has, on the mere supposition that the bill may pass.

In fairness, should residents of Twodot, Mont., and Tumtum, Wash., be forced to pay for swiftly-paced transit systems in New York City?

NO! Says Richmond

From the Richmond *News Leader*

Everything about this bill is bad; it has not a single redeeming feature. If this hand-out program truly were a federal responsibility vital to the national welfare even in a time of calamitous deficit spending, the criticism could be fairly leveled that the authorized sum is far too small. Considering the plight of commuter railroads and local transit systems across the country, it is plain that $375 million is the merest token. . .

But the fact is that the modernization of local bus companies and rail lines is not a federal responsibility by any remote stretch of the imagination.

Federal Gov't Ought Not to Be Doing'

'ON (R.-N.H.)

applicants. It's a political grab-bag.

Except as a bid for the city vote, there is no real necessity for this bill. The large cities and their suburbs are rich in resources and able to meet their commuter needs. Nearly half of our federal highway funds are being used for freeway systems into and around cities.

A study by the President's own commission shows a decline in rush-hour traffic in cities like New York, Chicago and Detroit. Each year there is less traffic into central business districts. Industries and market centers are moving to the outskirts. The shoppers and the clerks who serve them need not leave the suburbs. The commission study indicates that commuter trains and subways have had their day. Most mass transportation will be by bus.

But the average American will still insist on driving to work until someone invents a transit system that will pull into his driveway, take him when he chooses to start, and stop at the bakery or dry-cleaner on the way home.

However, the real significance of this bill isn't that it is costly, or wasteful, or political or unnecessary. It's what it leads to. If it passes the House as it has the Senate, it will trigger off a whole line of new spending programs. One gap in the fence and the cows are out. That's the dynamite in this bill.

The prime mission of the 88th Congress is to get our economy rolling. The President suggests, and wisely, that to do this, we should unshackle industry and business from some of the taxes that handcuff them, thus increasing production and creating jobs. But his other suggestions are not so wise. Plain common sense should tell anybody that we can't have a tax reduction that amounts to anything and at the same time start a new batch of billion-dollar programs.

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The Battle for the Dictionary

By MORRIE RYSKIND

The eternal battle between collectivism and individualism is loftily pictured in what has become a cliche as "the struggle for the minds of men." More accurately, I suggest, it is a struggle for the slogans which appeal to men's passions rather than their intellects.

Similarly, call a man a Fascist, though he fights against everything the corporate state stands for, and the ugly images of Mussolini and his Nazi partner are conjured up—and he may be destroyed at the polls.

The trick, of course, is to have the words of respectable connotation working for your side and to bring into disrepute the words that describe your opponent's objective. And here the Establishment, because it controls the key communication media, has an almost insuperable advantage.

The most notable triumph of the collectivists, of course, is one I have often bemoaned: seizure of the word "liberal" and its perversion of meaning from one who fights against the powers of the state to one who would put the heavy hand of the state into every form of human activity, from the cradle to the grave.

The skids having been greased, the descent is now easier. Hardly a day passes but that a legislator offers a bill to place yet another segment of what remains of free enterprise under government control, accompanied by a quip to this effect: "No doubt my honorable friends of the reactionary opposition, still residing in the 18th century, will term this measure socialistic."

A few weeks ago, I noted that the Establishment was trying out a new weapon in its semantic arsenal that might prove to be a blockbuster. A reporter from the Los Angeles *Times,* apparently of the opinion that even "liberal" had grown obsolescent in this jet age, described a battle for the board of education as one "between moderates and conservatives;" the obvious implication being that conservatives are, ipso facto, immoderate. Well, that's the way the vocabulary bounces. After all, the meaning of words does change.

Still, it's going to necessitate a little updating of the textbooks. Our kids will learn that in 1917, the moderate Bolsheviks took over the Russian Revolution from the conservative Kerensky regime.

And, beyond any doubt, they will be taught the virtues of the moderate spendthrift policies of the Kennedy Administration, opposed only by immoderate conservatives blind to the values of moderate bankruptcy.

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McNamara a Republican?

By VICTOR LASKY

Is Defense Secretary Robert S. (for Strange) McNamara a Republican?

And does it really matter?

Apparently it matters to McNamara, who gets highly indignant when anyone questions his elephantine connections.

In his first meeting with the Washington press corps on Dec. 13, 1960, the new defense secretary described himself as a "registered Republican."

If he was a registered Republican, he must have been the only one in the whole state of Michigan. For voters do not register with party labels in the Wolverine State. They are allowed to vote in either party's primary.

Then on what basis does McNamara consider himself a Republican?

Well, says his press chief, Arthur Sylvester, because back in 1960 the defense secretary—then boss-man at the Ford Motor Co.—contributed to the campaigns of Republican senators Case of New Jersey and Cooper of Kentucky.

Sen. Case has confirmed the contribution.

But a search of Sen. Cooper's files failed to show any direct contribution. However, says the Kentuckian, Mr. McNamara may well have contributed to a committee supporting him.

Arthur Sylvester added: "If Mr. Case and Mr. Cooper are Republicans, then Mr. McNamara, who supported them financially, is also a Republican."

The logic is startling. Sylvester concedes, for example, that Mr. McNamara had supported Senator Kennedy in the 1960 campaign.

Does that make the defense secretary a Democrat?

In 1958 also, Mr. McNamara was a substantial contributor to a Democrat—Sen. Philip Hart, who was closely allied to then Governor "Soapy" Williams, who, in turn, was closely allied to union chief Walter Reuther.

Even more significant is the fact that there is no record that Mr. McNamara ever contributed a nickel to the Republican National Committee.

Michigan GOP officials have no recollections of Mr. McNamara's participation in any Republican activities.

"Around here," said one Capitol Hill GOP-er, "we don't consider him a Republican. We consider him on the other side."

Then why does the New Frontier insist that Mr. McNamara is a devout Republican?

"Because," was the reply, "the defense secretaryship is a controversial job. It was important to get a man labeled a Republican into the job in order to take the heat off the Administration."

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Broken Presidential Promises

By HENRY J. TAYLOR

Our President must turn against every normal, selfish impulse and return to his spoken guarantees. It was on these that he was entrusted with the care of our nation and, indeed, of our very lives.

Many of the guarantees remain unredeemed in both the foreign policy area and economic area. But a start is timely regarding the budget, now under debate in Congress.

Our President is deliberately demanding, promoting and fighting for an unbalanced budget. His arguments supporting this theory are currently famous. And he is swinging, full-punch, at the congressional resistance.

Yet, it is morally and intellectually impossible for our President to unsay his own guarantees:

Sept. 26, 1960: "I believe in the balanced budget."

Oct. 7, 1960: "I said last week I believed in a balanced budget. We can balance the budget unless we have a national emergency or a severe depression."

Oct. 13, 1960: "I state again that I believe in a balanced budget and have supported that concept during my 14 years in Congress. Here is where I stand and I just want to have it on the public record."

Oct. 27, 1960: "Statements have been made that I am in favor of unbalancing the budget. That is wholly wrong, wholly in error. That is not my view and I think it ought to be stated very clearly in the record."

Nov. 2, 1960: "To hold down the cost of living we must strike at inflation on all fronts. To do this we should balance the budget."

Nov. 7, 1960: "I believe in a balanced budget."

Additional dates could go on and on.

Now, this conflict—100 per cent—between expressed convictions makes it impossible to know what Mr. Kennedy believes.

We seek, we need, we must have guidance from our President. Congress seeks guidance. In fact, the whole free world seeks guidance from the President of the United States.

We cannot be told one thing on Mondays, Wednesdays and Fridays and another thing on Tuesdays, Thursdays and Saturdays. Neither can the world. And neither can this practice be permitted among responsible subordinates.

If credence goes, everything goes. Nothing is so costly to our authority in the world and, therefore, to peace.

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JFK: 'Managing Editor'

By WALTER WINCHELL

A *Saturday Evening Post* shocker: "A surprising number of Pentagon officials take for granted that their offices are "bugged"—monitored by hidden microphones. Almost every defense correspondent assumes his phones, office and home, are tapped by some government agency."

Hidden microphones represent another attempt to hide the truth. Those who operate in the dark only prove how much they fear the light.

* * * * * *

From *U.S. News & World Report:* "Managing of news is a big and growing business in government. Thousands of individuals and millions of taxpayer dollars are used in this effort to guide and control the news. The Civil Service Commission, in figures that are admittedly incomplete, lists a grand total of 8,150 persons in government service doing information and editorial work."

That's the ultimate in adding insult to injury: Free Americans are paying to build an Iron Curtain.

* * * * * *

Peter Lisagor of the Chicago *Daily News* insists: "The news management issue has been demagogued out of all proportion by the freedom-of-information zealots and the thoughtless remarks of Arthur Sylvester."

Since when have 'zeal for freedom' become dirty words? That phrase means a deep passion for liberty. At one time such an emotion was called patriotism.

* * * * * *

A Washington correspondent pointed out: "JFK devotes such a considerable portion of his attention to leaking news, planting rumors and playing off one reporter against another, that it sometimes seems that his dream job is not being chief executive of the nation but managing editor of a hypothetical newspaper."

That's the trouble with this country: There are too many editors—and not enough newspapermen.

* * * * * *

Arthur Sylvester, the Pentagon press agent, testified before the Moss subcommittee that "a lot of this talk about news management is hogwash."

Talk about hogwash! This is the same Arthur Sylvester who publicly confessed that he managed the news.

* * * * * *

Item: "Pierre Salinger again denied that the Administration is managing the news. He said the White House instead has made news more accessible to the reporters."

The Administration has made news more accessible to three types of reporters: (1) Those who praise Jack. (2) Those who compliment Bobby. (3) Those who hail Teddy.

* * * * * *

This column would not be complete without the following quote:

"I know of no safe depository of the ultimate powers of the society but the people themselves; and if we think them not enlightened enough to exercise their control with a wholesome discretion, the remedy is not to take it from them, but to inform their discretion."

That statement was made by a giant named Thomas Jefferson, and his words will be remembered long after the pygmies have left Washington.

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Cuban Exile Asks: 'How Long Must We Wait?'

BY M. R. LEFKOE

MIGUEL LASA

(Reprints of this article are available. See page 126.)

I had asked Miguel Lasa, a young Cuban exile, for an appointment with the hope of obtaining the real story of how President Kennedy's new Cuban policy was affecting the Cuban refugees. But as I sat in his apartment listening to Senor Lasa tell his story, I realized that I was getting more than I had expected, for the tale of horror that was being torn from his lips made me ashamed to be an American.

He sat quietly, his eyes pleading desperately for some reassurance that justice still existed in the world.

"Your government said to wait," he told me. "But for how long? We go to Washington and they say they want an uprising inside of Cuba. How can they have an uprising if we aren't allowed to help them?

"The underground in Cuba is bigger than ever but they have no arms to fight with. We can't sit here in America waiting for Uncle Sam—we have been waiting for three years. It is our duty to do something. It is a very small thing, but at least it is something.

"The Cubans inside of Cuba—they have to see that we are doing something. There are still six million people in Cuba. Over 150,000 are in jail—our loved ones, our friends, our countrymen. Many have been killed. How long must we wait?

"Your President says he is our friend. Yet, only a month ago, over 1,000 guns were confiscated by the United States government. It had taken us six months to get the money for those arms. We had collected it penny by penny. What kind of a friend is that? *What kind of a friend is that?*

"What have we done to you? We have been persecuted by the United States for trying to regain our homeland. In Dade County, Fla., there are 46 Cuban exile leaders confined to the county. If they leave they will be thrown in jail. In Miami we are hiding just like in Cuba. In Havana we have to hide from the G-2—the Communists—and in Miami we have to hide from the CIA and the FBI."

What Can You Say . . ?

What could I say? What could anyone say to this man whose only purpose in life is to free his country from tyranny—and whose every move is thwarted by police-state methods in the United States? As an authoritative story in *U. S. News & World Report* entitled "A Stronger Castro—With U. S. Help?" had reported earlier in the week: "The United States, which once helped Cuban exiles attack, now is causing their arrest for such activity.

"A crackdown has been ordered by the Kennedy Administration against anti-Castro raids mounted or supplied from U. S. territory. To enforce this crackdown, the U. S. Coast Guard in Florida is being beefed. On April 3, reinforcements began pouring in—200 more men, 12 more patrol boats, 6 more amphibious airplanes. . . .

"At the same time the British were seizing one anti-Castro boat in the Bahamas, American authorities seized another in Miami. . . .

"To Cuban exiles, all this appeared to be an American act of betrayal."

It was the betrayal which bothered Senor Lasa the most—a betrayal which he found incomprehensible.

He looked at me questioningly: "First they (the United States government) promise to help us, and then they betray us. Before the Bay of Pigs invasion, the CIA helped us. It gave us arms and ammunition and helped us to get into Cuba to deliver them. But since that day, when hundreds of Cubans were killed because the United States failed to help us as it had promised, we have received nothing. And now your government won't even let us fight alone."

I remembered as well as he the statement made by Mr. Kennedy two and a half years ago when he was campaigning for the presidency: "We must end the harassment which the government has carried on of liberty-loving anti-Castro forces in Cuba and in other lands. While we cannot violate international law, we must recognize that these exiles and rebels represent the real voice of Cuba, and should not be constantly handicapped by our Immigration and Justice Department authorities."

A U.S. Invasion?

"What is it the Cuban exiles want from our government?," I asked him. "Do you want the United States to invade Cuba?"

He looked almost insulted. "No," he replied. "Castro now has a lot of men and arms and planes. We don't want marines—we don't want American men to be killed. We can do the job with sabotage. If the Cuban people see sabotage, and if we can get arms to them, they will rise up. Without arms it would only be suicide for them to openly rebel."

Senor Lasa straightened in his chair, a look of pride coming to his face. "We are not afraid to die. We know what it is to live under communism and it is not living. Listen, let me tell you a story. Not too long ago there was a man in Cuba who was caught by Castro's militia trying to burn down a field of sugar cane with matches. *Do you understand?—with matches!* We had explosives for this man but your government took them away. He was shot, standing there in the open, trying to burn down acres of sugar cane with matches. He didn't have a chance."

It was not easy for him to speak English and he was struggling to find the right words. But what he wanted to communicate did not require perfect grammar. Here was a man who knew the difference between freedom and slavery and who knew that there could be no compromise—a man who was asking nothing more than the chance to live for his country, if possible, and to die for it, if necessary.

"What are you going to do now?," I asked him. "Can you continue your raids despite Kennedy's harassment?"

"We Will Not Quit!"

The young Cuban looked at me and answered calmly: "It is almost impossible to fight Castro because of the United States and the British. We can't move in Miami because of the FBI and the CIA. It is now very difficult to set up bases outside the United States on the islands because your government has gotten British ships to look for us. The governments of South America will let us use their countries as bases, but they are too far away. We would need large boats and that takes a lot of money. But we will not quit—we cannot quit.

"If we have to be against the United States—if we have to be against the whole world—we do not care. It's our duty. It's a very simple thing: We have to fight for our country. All we ask from the United States is to let us die fighting for our country."

I wanted to apologize to him for the American people. I tried to explain, to tell him that my government's actions were not supported by most Americans.

I got up, thanked Senor Lasa for the interview, and walked out into the night. In the person of this young Cuban patriot I had seen for the first time a vision of the men who founded the United States—the men who boldly signed their names to the document which will stand forever as the symbol of man's eternal quest for freedom—the Declaration of Independence: ". . . we mutually pledge to each other our lives, our fortunes and our sacred honor."

Miguel Lasa had given me the story that I had come for, but I hadn't been able to give him what he needed most. When he had said goodnight, his eyes still had contained the same silent plea for reassurance that justice still existed in the world.

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OUTSTANDING EDITORIALS
From the Nation's Press

Learning the Hard Way

From the San Diego *Union*

Britain has been forced to come to grips with one of its most critical problems, the abject financial failure of the country's nationalized railway system.

As a result, a drastic railroad reorganization plan that would close more than half of Britain's passenger stations has been presented to the government by the British Railways Board.

Adoption of the program would mean the virtual abolition of country railway lines and the displacement of 65,000 to 70,000 railroad workers. There is strong opposition to the proposal. Motorist organizations, anticipating additional highway traffic, complained that Britain's roads already are the most crowded in the world.

It was noted further that small-town concerns dependent on rail freight would be shaken economically while rural residents would be severly inconvenienced.

The Isle of Wight would lose all of its trains and 12 stations. There would be no train north of Inverness in Scotland and service north of Blackpool and Scarborough would be severely curtailed.

But Britain's nationalized railway system last year had a deficit of $420 million. It seems inevitable that the reorganization proposal, perhaps with minor modifications, will be adopted.

The British eventually may learn the hard way that socialism leads to economic retreat.

How to Save $700 Million

From the Chattanooga *News-Free Press*

We do not believe the American taxpayers would favor having the federal government dip into their pockets to the extent of $700 million (that's more than two-thirds of a billion) to build a socialized steel mill in the United States.

But the Kennedy Administration, contrary to the recommendations of Mr. Kennedy's own Clay committee on foreign aid, is considering giving $700 million to India to build a socialized steel plant in India.

It isn't that India doesn't have steel mills. It has some private enterprise ones that are producing effectively. And it has some socialized ones that are proving the shortcomings of socialism.

One big reason that India wants the United States to finance a new socialized steel plant is that India is preventing the free enterprise steel mills from undertaking the expansion they want to provide.

How is India doing this? By taking away the profits of the free enterprise to subsidize the failures of the socialized steel mills.

This is one clear opportunity to save a huge sum of U. S. money. And if our refusal to finance further socialization in India should force India to let its free enterprise mills expand, that would serve the best interest of India.

The American people, already heavily taxed and seeing the national debt rise and budget deficits planned, should make it political suicide for anyone to hand over $700 million, or any sum, to India or anybody else for such a purpose.

College Campus—No Place for Reds

From the San Francisco *News Call Bulletin*

Chancellor Edward W. Strong of the University of California missed the point altogether when he said recently he could find no logic in a UC policy that bars Communist speakers from the campus but allows right-wingers to appear.

The point is a very plain one:

The rightists are an indigenous American political movement of unquestioned loyalty to their country. The Communists are—and have been so held by the courts—a foreign political conspiracy dedicated to the overthrow of the American government and its free institutions.

Certainly the liberal, even the so-called ultra-liberal, point of view has an essential place in a campus dialogue; but when the pink becomes pure red, the time has come for university authorities to say nay.

Americans are constitutionally guaranteed the right to bear arms, but this would not extend to approval of the establishment of anti-government guerrilla warfare cells.

Many ideas should flow freely on a university campus, but treason is not one of them.

Academic freedom does not mean that you must hand your sworn enemy a gun and invite him to do his worst.

'ISN'T IT A LOVELY DAY!'

Courtesy Cincinnati *Enquirer*

Musicians' Demands in Philadelphia

From the Philadelphia *Bulletin*

Every employe, at one time or another, undoubtedly dreams of being able to fire the boss.

In the case of the musicians of the Philadelphia orchestra, however, this has progressed beyond the dream stage; it is part of their contract demands.

Their union has asked for a provision in the contract calling upon the Philadelphia Orchestra Association to request the resignation of a conductor in the event 75 per cent or more of the members want him to resign.

A statement by Charles Musumeci, president of local 77 of the American Federation of Musicians, said that an orchestra and its conductor must "play as a team," and that it would be in the interests of practically everybody (presumably excluding the conductor himself) if the musicians could make an 'effective' request for the conductor's resignation if a preponderant majority of the musicians found the conductor's continued presence "intolerable."

It was pointed out that such a practice is not unusual in European orchestras.

It could be that this is one of the reasons that some of the orchestras in the United States have come to be generally regarded as somewhat superior to those in Europe.

Rorschach Cult in Art

From the Montgomery *Advertiser*

It happens every spring, and usually every summer, fall and winter as well. Some kid, prankster or chimp wins a modern art contest. Latest master is Theresa Bates, 22 months old, for the mess she made on a piece of paper entered in a California contest by her father.

Usually, as in this case, the judges offer a feeble explanation couched in the most inscrutable bafflegab they can contrive, to cover their embarrassment.

They attempt to explain about fresh, untarnished creation and all that rot. What they cannot explain is neither babies nor chimps systematically win prizes in music or literature, leaving the distinct suspicion that much of what is called modern art is perpetrated by phonies, supported by phonies and judged by phonies.

Showcase of Lawlessness

From the St. Louis *Globe-Democrat*

"Not houses finely roofed or the stones of walls well-builded, nay nor canals and dockyards, make the city, but men able to use their opportunity."—Aristides: Rhodian Oration.

Most Americans—if asked to name the five loveliest cities in the nation—would place Washington, D. C., at or near the top, for the public monuments, buildings and museums are matched nowhere in the 50 states.

But Washington also boasts a less commendable first—the highest crime and illegitimacy rate in the nation.

Visitors to the Lincoln or Jefferson memorials seldom tour "Number Two" precinct, the most lawless in a lawless town. Areas of the city are havens for thugs and muggers who prowl at will. Even the schools are sliding toward this chaos.

When the Supreme Court blew the whistle in 1954, Washington integrated at once. But today, population shifts have resegregated many of the public schools. The young thugs who quit these schools and were unable to find work now loiter in the buildings, picking fights with students and teachers alike.

The cheating on welfare payments is a city-wide "joke." The handouts have attracted the most listless and worthless elements to the city to feed on the public dole.

Unattended women do not dare walk on downtown streets. Many decent people have abandoned the public parks out of simple fear.

The Washington police can do little. Convictions are hard to come by and criminals are coddled.

As one critic put it, "Justice in the capital is considered the easiest in the land. If the defendant isn't adjudged insane, it is found that he is misunderstood, or suffers from an unhappy childhood. It seems that most of those arraigned aren't criminal, but are misunderstood. This situation is delicate and serious."

The District of Columbia is the charge of the federal government, which still tells other cities of the nation how to solve their problems.

What a jungle showcase it has offered the rest of American cities and the rest of the world.

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WANTED: MORE SURVEILLANCE OF GOVERNMENT

By EMERSON P. SCHMIDT

SCHMIDT

The view that government should do only a few things and do them well, leaving the balance to private effort, is gaining new ammunition from unexpected sources. Eric Sevareid advanced the view in a column, with utmost conviction, that our problems have now become so numerous and complicated that even the interested citizen has neither the time nor the energy to absorb and interpret the flow of news and information which is necessary to enable him to develop an informed judgment on the innumerable crucial issues (Washington *Evening Star,* March 12, 1963.)

The citizen must be concerned with an enormous variety of personal issues and problems relating to his daily life. But with the government sector absorbing about a third of our national income, there are thousands of government problems, issues and programs which cry out for understanding, evaluation and often decision-making.

Sevareid accepts the view that the masses of the American people strive only to live their own private lives and turn over the management of the government sector completely to so-called professionals.

Indeed, he goes further; he states that those citizens with a higher educational level, those in the middle and upper ranks of business and professional life—that is, those who must be well informed because of their importance and their influence—are working harder and longer hours than their fathers and grandfathers. But these important people do not have the time or energy to do all that is involved: to attend to their occupational activities, their families and community affairs and still master the fundamental issues in the field of foreign affairs—the truth of de Gaulle and NATO, disarmament, balance of payments and gold losses, "news management," unemployment, inflation, foreign aid, Cuba, the continuing turmoil in most of Latin America and a host of other foreign issues, not to mention a growing volume of domestic questions as whether to cut taxes and, if so, which taxes, debt ceiling, debt management, money and credit policy, agriculture and labor policies—the list is endless. Breakdowns and serious national frustrations are inevitable.

Despair of understanding paves the way to abdication. Numerous scholars have pointed out that this trend is the stuff from which dictatorship is generated. On the thousands of complicated issues which require decisions, the public's judgment is almost completely absent and, even where it exists, it is likely to be based on a minimum of information and much misinformation. Sevareid says that under these conditions, the judgment of the people simply is not expressed because no judgment is formed in the first place.

During the long New York newspaper blackout in the winter of 1962-63, Sevareid states, great numbers of New Yorkers felt a conscious or subconscious sense of relief, because the absence of the press relieved them from their daily struggle to absorb and understand it all. The people actually experienced a certain new sense of freedom. But this is "freedom" by abdication (in this case generated by the suspension of the New York daily newspapers).

What is the moral? The Congress of the United States, in a sense, serves as a board of directors, presiding over an annual budget of more than $120 billion, the funds spent by thousands of boards, agencies, subagencies, bureaus, commissions and authorities. For the most part, these members of Congress are rather average American citizens. Even when working diligently, full time and over time, no one of them can ever have any substantial knowledge of how the thousands of government programs and agencies are operated. They have no way of evaluating their merits. They have to guess for the most part. One government bureau knows almost nothing about any other bureau.

If this is a sound diagnosis, we have here a most important argument for the classical liberal philosophy of limited government. To improve government performance, we need to reduce its scope. Every expansion of government generates a new wall of noncommunication between the citizen-taxpayer and his government. Every expansion dilutes the quality of both congressional and citizen surveillance.

The more complicated and interdependent our society becomes, however, the more urgent it is that we leave to the free market a maximum of decision-making. Growing complexity and more specialization in our society does not necessarily or generally call for more and larger government activity, because, after all, the free market is the prime center for the voluntary and effective coordination of specialists. In the private sector, the worth of every economic activity is tested by the choice of the consumer. Government spending cannot be tested as to its worth in this way and, most frequently, in no way.

Every session of Congress creates new bureaus, new programs and invariably expands many of the older ones. We are steadily enlarging the government sector and making it progressively more and more difficult for the government official or the concerned citizen to get an informed grasp of what is going on and what it means.

If our citizens, not through indifference, but through the sheer weight and size of the government sector, abdicate in favor of a bureaucratic elite, this may yet end in dictatorship, not because we, or even the dictator, want it that way. Rather, here are the inner drives working in this direction.

Mr. Schmidt is the director of the Economic Research Department of the Chamber of Commerce of the United States.

"Don't Do as I Do..."

By PAUL HARVEY

Sen. William Fulbright (D.) of Arkansas is chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, but he is having some problems with some of our "foreign relations" right in his own backyard.

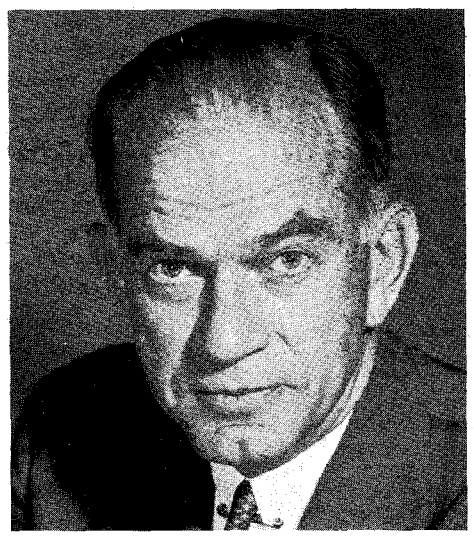
Senator Fulbright lives in the fashionable Sheridan-Kalorama residential area of Washington.

And who has dared to move into that same neighborhood but the chanceries of Syria and the tiny African nation of Gabon!

Well, now, Fulbright scholar Fulbright has been in the front ranks of Americans urging tolerance and good-neighborliness, but this time it involves his own neighborhood. That's different!

So Mrs. Fulbright and 18 of the neighbors have protested to the Zoning Board of the District of Columbia. The very idea!

The traditionally "liberal" Senator Fulbright has carried his "cause" right to the floor of the U. S. Senate.



FULBRIGHT

He wants Congress to pass a law to protect neighborhoods like his from such "undesirables."

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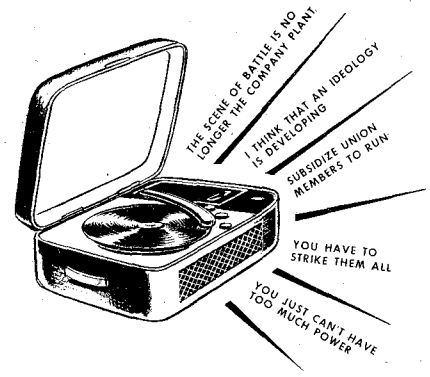
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SPOTLIGHT ON CONGRESS

When one has a deficit he has less than he had when he had nothing.
—SEN. JOHN J. WILLIAMS (R.-Del.)

U. S. Appeasement

By REP. ROBERT R. CASEY (D.-Tex.)

I, for one, am getting a bit weary of seeing the interests and sovereignty of this country placed second to the rest of the world by those who would continue to appease.

Unfair IRS

By REP. PAUL FINDLEY (R.-Ill.)

The Bureau of Internal Revenue is guilty of unfair labor practices—truly slave-labor tactics. We are all part of a vast army of involuntary workers on an unpaid payroll. The claim by Internal Revenue Commissioner Mortimer Caplin that the cost of collecting federal income taxes is less than one-half cent for each dollar collected is misleading. The one-half cent cost for each dollar collected does not take into account the vast unpaid payroll of the Bureau of Internal Revenue. Every taxpayer is an involuntary employe of the bureau, forced to keep records and make reports—often at great cost. For this he gets no pay.

He cannot even deduct this out-of-the-pocket cost in computing taxes. To add insult to injury, the taxpayer does not even get credit from Commissioner Caplin for his servitude.

Investigate State

By REP. WILLIAM C. CRAMER (R.-Fla.)

It's high time for a thorough housecleaning in the State Department.

Farm Waste

By REP. JAMES B. UTT (R.-Calif.)

Since the enactment of the Agricultural Adjustment Act, the American taxpayer has contributed about $48 billion to subsidize certain agricultural crops, and after about 30 years of trial and error—mostly error—we have ended up with agriculture being in a worse position than ever, with over $48-billion worth of surplus products, in spite of the billions of agricultural surplus which we have given away.

Federal Controls

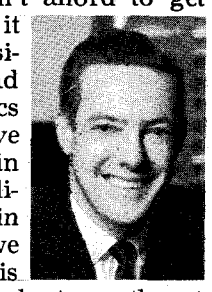
By SEN. HARRY F. BYRD (D.-Va.)

When federal funds are involved, in the form of subsidies, grants or otherwise, federal control is inherent. It may be through federal court injunctions, in substantive legislation, through appropriation bill riders, through Executive orders, or otherwise; but it will be there.

Enter Politics

By REP. WILLIAM E. BROCK III (R.-Tenn.)

I am fed up with people who tell me that they can't afford to get into politics because it might affect their business. Businessmen had better get into politics if they expect to have any business at all in the years to come. Politics is very much in business whether we like it or not; there is one bureaucratic hand at our throat and the other in our hip pocket. It's time we practice what we preach in the area of free enterprise and self-government. If we don't play a part in politics, we have no right to complain about what the politicians do to us.



Government Subsidies

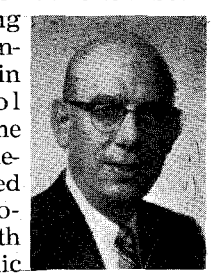
By REP. BRUCE ALGER (R.-Tex.)

Billions and billions of dollars of government money—money obtained by the taxation of individuals and businesses—is today tied up in commercial, industrial and financial operations, and uncounted sums are squandered each year in the mismanagement of many enterprises that exist only because they are subsidized.

Anti-Businessmen

By SEN. WALLACE F. BENNETT (R.-Utah)

Men without experience in business, nor faith in it, have too often been successful in acquiring the power of government so that they, in turn, could control business. As part of the strategy of this takeover, they have tried to identify and associate their actions with the concept of public interest, and, therefore, make them seem good. In contrast, they have tried to sell the idea that the words "public" and "private" are opposites and, therefore, antagonistic. When anyone accepts this false assumption, the next step is easy. The word "government, it is claimed, is synonymous with the word "public"; and anything it does must automatically be in the public interest. Business, being private, must, therefore, be against the public interest.



Endless Debt?

By REP. PAUL F. SCHENCK (R.-Ohio)

Until the present rate of government spending is stopped, and radically reversed, there is no real foreseeable limit on the national debt.

Motel ARA

By REP. JAMES HARVEY (R.-Mich.)

The Banking and Currency Committee, on which I serve, just recently passed out of committee H.R. 4996 which increases authorizations to the Area Redevelopment Administration in the amount of $455 million. I do not approve of the manner in which this program is being administered, at least not in the state of Michigan. The Activity Summary Report, dated Monday, March 25, 1963, covering operations in fiscal 1963 to that date, published by the U.S. Department of Commerce, indicates that seven so-called industrial loans have been made in Michigan in the total amount of $4.4 million. I point out, however, that a reading of the report indicates that 86 per cent of this money, or $3.8 million went to finance new motels. I do not believe this was the intent of Congress.

Computer Security

By SEN. BARRY GOLDWATER (R.-Ariz.)

I have been sent to the Senate by a constituency which should find me derelict if I abdicated my role in national security matters to any group of so-called specialists whose constituency is a battery of computers and not a bastion of citizens.

Cuban 'Victory'

By SEN. KARL E. MUNDT (R.-S.D.)

Administration spokesmen have now come up with a sales pitch that our policy in Cuba is one of victory. They are telling the American people that "Cuba is a showcase of Communist failure." Included in Khrushchev's "showcase of Communist failure" are such items as these: Castro is still in power. The Monroe Doctrine has been breached. Latin America is in a Cuba-generated turmoil. Shipping from our allies to Cuba continues. Exiles are prohibited from making an effort to free their homeland. This new twist on "success-failure" reminds me of the small boy without money who went to the candy store. He didn't get any candy but achieved "success" because the store owner "failed" to make the sale. Of course, the storekeeper still had his candy case full of sweets, much the same as Khrushchev still has Cuba!

Danger Left!

By REP. EDGAR F. FOREMAN (R.-Tex.)

If I were in a sail boat, and the wind blowing across the sail was rolling the boat to the left to the point that the water was about to swamp the craft, I would hook an oar into the boat and crawl out on the far right side in order to attempt to right the boat and keep it from sinking. Perhaps the extreme right organizations are attempting to do the same for our ship of state. The pink-fingered politicians and the lily livered diplomats of the lunatic left post a far greater threat to our freedom today than the so-called extreme right.

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THE TRIUMPH OF LUDWIG ERHARD

By JOHN CHAMBERLAIN

Ludwig Erhard, the silvery haired, fresh-cheeked 66-year-old economics minister of West Germany, who is generally credited with being the creator of his country's "economic miracle," has finally been nominated to succeed old Konrad Adenauer as the German chancellor. Since Erhard believes in a free economic system—no cartels, no price controls, no strangling taxes on business, no progressive inflation—this is precisely analogous to the situation that would prevail if a Barry Goldwater were to become president of the United States.

You may say that nothing like this could ever happen in an America that is so wrapped up in welfare statism that it gives only lip service to the idea of a free economy. Nevertheless, it was an organization sparked in America that gave Dr. Erhard his big push toward the top in Germany. If it can't happen here, we helped it happen there.

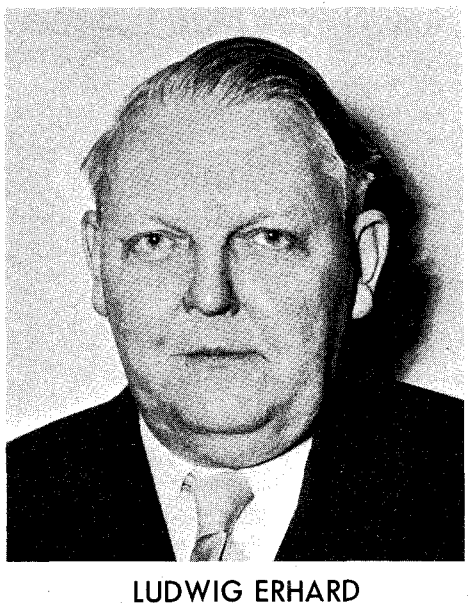
To understand the movement that gave Dr. Erhard his chance of reforming the German economic system along free lines, you have to go back to World War II. An Austrian economist who believed in the free economic society, Friedrich Hayek, had been exiled from his homeland by the Nazis. He had found a temporary haven in London, where he wrote a book called *The Road to Serfdom*.

This able attack on the regnant philosophies of Keynesian inflationism and semi-socialist welfare statism brought Hayek a post in the United States at the University of Chicago. And the book's success in going against the trend of the times stirred the author to thinking that maybe an international organization of free economists, liberal in the old 19th century sense, might have some worldwide influence.

Thus, the Mt. Pelerin Society of economists was started. It originally had thirty-eight members, among whom were the American economist, Henry Hazlitt, and the American publicist, Leonard Read. Another great exile to the United States from his native Austria, economist Ludwig von Mises, was among the band recruited by Hayek for the organization. The exiles and the Americans joined with like-minded colleagues from continental Europe in a first conference at the Lake Geneva resort of Mt. Pelerin, which is what gave the little society its name.

All of this took place in 1947, when Europe was still struggling to emerge from the ruination of the war. Almost everybody expected to see some form of socialism triumph everywhere on the old continent. But the Mt. Pelerinites were resolved that this should not be permitted to happen.

One of their ablest recruits was a man named Wilhelm Roepke, who now teaches at the Graduate Institute of International Studies in Geneva. Roepke, a believer in something called "the social market economy," which might be described as "free enterprise with a heart," had a fervent disciple.



LUDWIG ERHARD

The disciple's name was Ludwig Erhard. Erhard became a Mt. Pelerinite, drinking deep of the free philosophy.

Since Keynesian New and Fair Dealers were riding high in 1947 in all positions of influence in both the United States and Europe, it is a minor miracle that the U.S. military government permitted Dr. Erhard to become Konrad Adenauer's minister of economics. Possibly it was because he was one of the few anti-Nazi economists who could still be found in Germany at the time. He had already served as minister of the economy in Bavaria, where he had been tractable. However, he was to prove anything but tractable as boss of the new West German economic system.

What Dr. Erhard proceeded to do was to revamp the West German economy along Mt. Pelerin lines. He refused to let the pre-war cartels reestablish themselves along the Rhine. On a Sunday in June of 1948, when the American Occupation offices were closed for the weekend, he issued an order abolishing all price controls to take effect on Monday morning. General Lucius Clay, the U. S. military governor in West Germany, called the suddenly refractory Erhard on the carpet to tell him that all of the American advisers to the occupation considered the abrogation of price controls to be a terrible mistake.

But Dr. Erhard refused to budge. "Turn the people and the money loose," he said, "and they will make the country strong."

This is precisely what happened. In American and British academic circles, the brand of economics espoused by the Mt. Pelerin Society is still regarded as something that went out with crinoline dresses and the horse cars. But it is one of the early Mt. Pelerinites who is slated to become the next chancellor of West Germany.

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Plant Manager
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Plant Manager
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We have all heard the fable about the ants and grasshoppers. The ants worked hard all summer, storing away food, so that they could live when winter came. The grasshoppers played all summer, and saved nothing for the future. Of course when winter came, the ants lived on what they had saved, and the grasshopppers starved and froze to death. When we were children we were taught this fable. But in these modern times there has been a change to this fable. The ants still work and save, for the future, but the Federal Government steps in and tells them they must divide what they have saved with the grasshopper who saved nothing. We at Premier Photo Service and Best Photo Service do not understand how this can happen. We are supposed to have a government of the people, by the people and for the people. Since there are so many more of us human ants working and saving and many less grasshoppers why do we stupid ants let them get by with this. Could it be that we are so busy working and saving that we do not take time to find out what is going on around us.

I have been a constant reader of Human Events for many years and sincerely believe that if a few million more people subscribed to this one lamp of liberty, we would make the grasshoppers work or starve.

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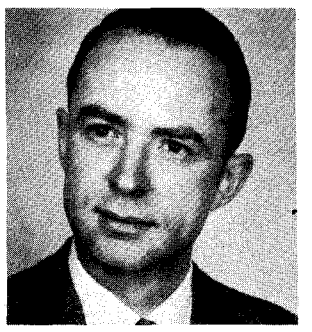

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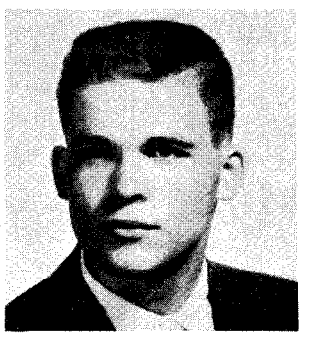

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CHESTER BOWLES: EQUIVOCAL MAN

By HOLMES ALEXANDER

Chester Bowles may not be the worst man in America to become ambassador to India, but he is almost that.

There are a good many ways to prove the point, but one will suffice, as shall be shown. It's true that the jut-jowled Bowles has been a successful huckster in the advertising business, a so-so state governor, a never-heard-of-him representative (D.-Conn.) an advisor on foreign affairs to Mr. Kennedy in the 1960 campaign and a pillar-to-post man in the New Frontier's State Department.

Previously, Bowles also was ambassador to India under President Truman and was instrumental in getting that country a huge amount of American aid. There is no doubt whatever about his being a pro-India man, and nobody should say that he is pro-Soviet. But on the record, he is so far from being pro-American that he becomes a type which Allen Drury mordantly describes in *Advise and Consent* as:

" . . . that perfect symbol of mid-century America, the Equivocal Man . . . one of the most dangerous men in America."

For proof, let us turn to the instance of the Bhakra Dam which lies in the Himalayan Mountain area of India. This construction, the equivalent of our own Hoover Dam and of the Aswan Dam in Egypt, was commenced in 1952 under the direction of Harvey Slocum, a California engineer, and 40 other Americans who trained 1,500 Indians as supervisors, engineers, foremen and skilled craftsmen.

By the mid-50s the Russians saw that Bhakra was going to become a showpiece of modern engineering in Asia. They longed to take credit for it. From 1955-59 the Dam was visited by Khrushchev, Bulganin, Molotov, Andreyev, Kuchava, Sheremetyev and Likhachov. In contrast, the U.S. official visitors were the two ambassadors, Bowles and Bunker, Lt. Gen. Wheeler and John D. Rockefeller III.

The Communist picture magazine, *Soviet Land,* in the issue of March 20, 1959, reported an inspection of the dam by a Soviet delegation and quoted these alleged remarks:

By an Indian general manager: "The Indian builders were inspired by the example of the Soviet Union, of the Soviet people who, despite the devastations of war, have scored great successes in various fields—hydro-power engineering included."

By a Soviet visitor: "How miserable are the attempts of imperialists to try to prove that the peoples of Asia and Africa are incapable of creative effort."

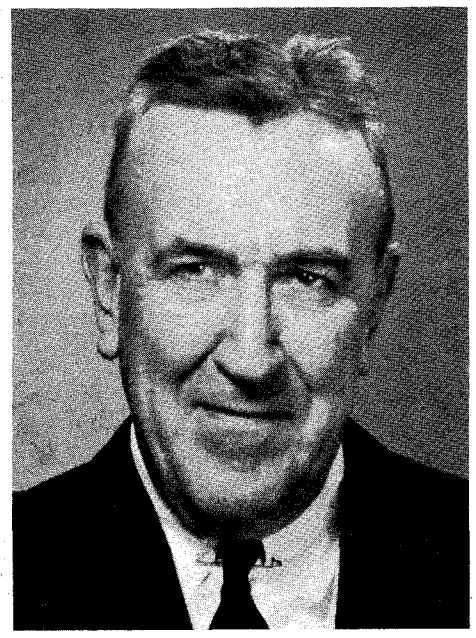
Alarmed by the threat that Russia would steal the propaganda show from under our noses, a prominent American newspaper editor who knew the whole story, began as soon as Mr. Kennedy was elected in November 1960, to push for American recognition in this major uplift of Indian economy. Unfortunately, he put some trust in Chester Bowles, who loomed as the new President's logical advisor on Indian affairs. The following quotations from letters signed by Bowles, on State Department stationery, have come into my possession. They will expand Drury's definition of an Equivocal Man.

At the suggestion that the United States of America dramatize this ideological and technological triumph and deny it to the Russians, Bowles wrote on June 22, 1961:

"As you point out, it is true that our assistance to India, as to any other country, makes it possible to divert to other purposes funds which would have been used for the aided project. However, to exploit that fact to suggest that . . . Bhakra was basically dependent on U. S. financing would be to suggest that almost anything the Indians might achieve was basically dependent on U. S. aid. We prefer, instead, to encourage the Indians to help themselves . . . "

Previous to that, to the suggestion that President Kennedy himself, or the next available highest Administration official, attend the ceremonial opening of Bhakra Dam, Bowles wrote on May 17, 1961:

"Aside from the President's own schedule, we see at least one problem connected with your suggestion. It is that the presence of President Kennedy . . . might be interpreted in India as an effort on our part to obtain major credit for the project."



BOWLES

Such opinions of Chester Bowles are clearly pro-Indian, but they are a long way from being pro-American. Hardly a day goes by, in this column and elsewhere, when the question of "How to Win the Cold War" isn't explored by research and exhortation. Affirmative ideas are hard to come by. But it might be helpful if Americans would send this negative but indisputable notion to chairman Fulbright of the Foreign Relations Committee and to other senators who will decide upon Chester Bowles' confirmation as ambassador to India:

We aren't going to win the Cold War by relying upon our Equivocal Men for front-line posts.

(Distributed by McNaught Syndicate, Inc.)

ARA Boondoggles

By REP. LESLIE C. ARENDS (R.-Ill.)

Two years ago what is commonly known as the "distressed area program" was initiated. It is officially entitled the Area Redevelopment Act. Upon a basis of what has been accomplished to date and what is again proposed for additional expenditures, we would say the "distressed areas" are actually the pockets of the taxpayers.

- A loan of $1,895,000 was made to the Ponchartrain Hotel of Detroit, Michigan to assist in financing a 432-unit motor hotel. How can this add any new hotel jobs in the area when in 1962 the hotel occupancy rate for Detroit was only 54 per cent? At best, it would simply mean transferring employment from existing hotels to the new one.
- A loan of $418,000 was made to the Tomahawk Paper Co. of Tomahawk, Wisconsin, for a paper mill to make household tissues. How can this create new jobs to absorb the unemployed when the present capacity of that industry is, with the new plant, 16 per cent in excess of the national consumption?
- A loan and grant of $6.1 million was approved for a convention auditorium in Duluth, Minnesota. It is claimed that this will provide 22 permanent jobs. $277,272 per job is a rather high price for the taxpayers to pay for such a project.

The agency administering the program claims that in the two years of its existence, the loans and grants for various projects have resulted in 35,226 new, direct jobs. But that is less than 1 per cent of the number of unemployed. Moreover, this total does not take into account the jobs that may have been lost in existing plants having to compete with the new one.

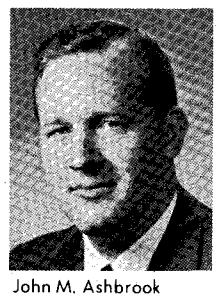
HEAR THESE . . . and a score of other leaders . . .

MOBILIZE TO WIN IN '64

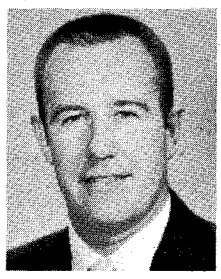
Sen. Barry Goldwater
Arizona

Sen. Thruston B. Morton
Kentucky

Adm. Ben Moreell
USN (Ret.)



John M. Ashbrook
Ohio



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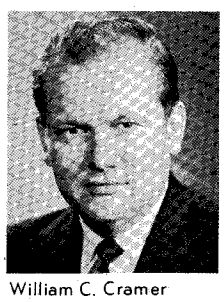

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ADDRESS _____ Meat ☐

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